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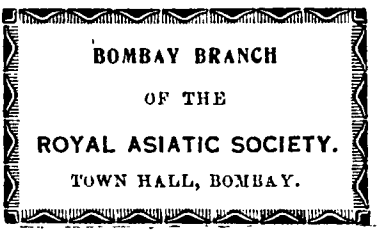

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THE STUDY OF

ENGLISH LITERATURE

A PLEA FOR
ITS RECOGNITION AND ORGANIZATION
AT THE UNIVERSITIES

65054

BY

JOHN CHURTON COLLINS

μέγα γὰρ τοῦτο οἰόμεθα φέρειν καὶ ὅλον εἰς πολιτείαν ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ ὀρθῶς γιγνόμενον.—PLATO, *Rep.* v.

Occurram necesse est, et, velut in vestibulo protinus apprehensuris hanc confessionem meam, resistam iis, qui, omissâ rerum diligentiâ, quodam inani circa voces studio senescunt. Majore animo aggredienda eloquentia est. Quintilian, *Instit. Orator.* viii. *Præm.*

To abandon these studies in order to support Philology is like burning a city to save the gates.—JORTIN.

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THE STUDY OF
ENGLISH LITERATURE

PREFACE

[redacted]NG the last five years an urgent appeal
various forms and from various quarters,
ade to the Universities to provide systematic
ion in Literature as distinguished from
gy, and particularly in our own Literature.
ppeal was made officially by Mr. Goschen,
sident of the London Society for the Exten-
University Teaching. In a letter addressed
im to the Vice-Chancellor of the University
xford, and printed in the *University Gazette*,
April 26th, 1887, he pointed out that "there
no subject for which there was a greater demand
n for courses of lectures on English literature,
d at the same time there was none in which
ere is more difficulty in finding the necessary
umber of satisfactory teachers;" and he concluded
by expressing a hope "that a system might be dis-

covered which will combine the pursuit of English literature with the existing study of the ancient classics, and which, far from trenching on the dominion of the latter, will give this a firmer hold on the English education of the future by connecting them with the literature of our country, of which they have furnished the models, and to a great extent supply the key." The same appeal was made, if not so directly, yet even more [illegible] cally, by Mr. John Morley in his Address [illegible] students of the University Extension, deli[illegible] the Mansion House, February 26th, 1887, an[illegible] printed as a pamphlet. It was no part of h[illegible] to point out, as Mr. Goschen had pointed [illegible] difficulty of finding a sufficient number of co[illegible] lecturers; but, in defining Literature and in d[illegible] the functions of its interpreters and teache[illegible] both protested as Mr. Goschen had done ag[illegible] confounding Literature with Philology, and[illegible] showed by implication how seriously secon[illegible] education must suffer, so long as this confus[illegible] was allowed to exist.

But it was not the Chancellor of the Exchequ[illegible] and Mr. Morley only who made this appeal to th[illegible] Universities. In the January number of the

Quarterly Review for 1887, many, indeed it would be no exaggeration to say the majority, of those whose important connection with Education, or whose distinction in letters, justly entitled them to speak with authority on this matter, have, in joining in the same petition, expressed precisely similar views on the subject of the relation of Philology to Literature, on the necessity for distinguishing them, and on the necessity of the Universities placing the study of Literature on a proper footing. Among the names of those who supported this movement are to be found the names of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of London, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Lytton, Professor Jowett, Matthew Arnold, Professor Huxley, Mr. Froude, Sir Theodore Martin, and many others.

To these appeals the Universities have made no response. Cambridge had already succeeded in establishing a Philological Tripos, and Oxford was at the very time of Mr. Goschen's application preparing to follow. Deaf and indifferent to the authorities to which I have referred, impervious even to the petitions of its own missionaries, and of the President of its own Extension Society, the University all but suc-

ceeded in carrying a motion for a School which would have been the exact counterpart of the Mediæval and Modern Languages Tripos at Cambridge. Fortunately, the project was defeated, but it was defeated only by a casting vote. It is now about to be revived. Once more the two parties who divide our Universities will come into collision—that small minority who would see Oxford and Cambridge brought, as centres of teaching, into direct contact with the life of our time, and who contend that it is one of the chief functions of a University liberally to educate those who are to educate the country, and that large majority who would reserve the Universities as nurseries for specialists and technical scholars, and who consequently oppose on principle all attempts to interfere with a system as esoteric in theory as it is esoteric in practice, a system which has long been their monopoly, a system which they hope to retain as their monopoly still.

The object of the present volume is threefold. It is designed to bring within the reach of all who may be interested in such questions the real points at issue in the controversy at Oxford. For what is at issue is of public importance, as it involves the question of the real relation of the Universities to the education of English citizens. Are Oxford and

Cambridge to be regarded only as esoteric seminaries for esoteric instruction, or are they to be regarded also as the centres and nurseries of liberal discipline and liberal study? Is the present anarchy, the result of the feud between these two parties, the Specialists and the Liberals, to continue? Are the Universities to assume the responsibility of guaranteeing the attainments and qualifications of lecturers and teachers in English and other Literatures without providing them with any systematic training, or even submitting them to any test? Are Oxford and Cambridge practically to undertake through their presses the direction of scholastic and popular instruction in our national Literature; and to be granting their imprimatur to books, one tithe of the blunders and absurdities in which would damn instantly a work on any other subject represented in their Schools? This is the question—the real question in debate—are we to have disorganization and chaos, or are we to have system and order, in one of the most important departments of national education?

Secondly, I am anxious to show how deep-seated and wide-spread is the need of the instruction of which the best literature, properly interpreted, is and

can be the only medium, and how greatly secondary education is suffering in consequence of the Universities continuing to turn a deaf ear to such an appeal as the appeals to which I have referred.

But the greater portion of the volume is an attempt to meet the objections of those who urge, in defence of the Universities, that Literature, as distinguished from Philology, is not a subject susceptible of solid and systematic treatment in teaching; that it is "too intangible," that it affords no basis for a superstructure of positive instruction; and that it would, therefore, encourage, if it did not necessitate, what might in practice too easily dissolve in vague generalities and mere dilettantism.

I may be permitted to express my regret that so much in these pages should seem to be written in a polemical spirit. But this has been no fault of mine. The subjects discussed here are not new; they have, during the last five years, been repeatedly debated. But they have never been approached except as affording matter for controversy, and without clearing them of controversial complications, often a very irritating process, it is now impossible to deal with them. That it should, in days like these, be necessary to plead for the recognition of our nation

Classics as subjects of teaching at the chief centres of national education is sufficiently surprising; but that it should be necessary to protest against the action of Oxford and Cambridge in deciding to exclude the Greek and Roman Classics from the curriculum of a School of Literature—for to this have the Philologists brought us—can only excite amazement and disgust in the mind of any civilized person.

My thanks are due to Mr. John Murray for allowing me to draw largely on two articles contributed by me to the *Quarterly Review;* to Mr. Knowles for allowing me to reprint the greater part of an article which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century;* and to Mr. Percy Bunting for permission to use a few paragraphs from recent contributions of mine to the *Contemporary Review.*

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THE
STUDY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

ALL who have watched the educational movements of the last few years, such movements, for example, as the University Extension Scheme and the National Home Reading Union, must feel with much satisfaction that they are the earnest and anticipation of a great revolution in advanced education. What they plainly indicate is that the changed conditions under which we are now living are necessitating corresponding changes in our systems of instruction. Partly owing to vague notions that culture on its moral side is supplied by religious teaching, and partly owing to our national habit of regarding politics in relation merely to the public

game, neither ethics nor politics have as instruments of culture, as subjects for discipline, received systematic attention. With music and the fi associated for the most part with mere amu and poetry resolved into little more than pastime without, and into pabulum for philo within our Schools and Colleges, what ought to represent æsthetic discipline has fared even worse. Generation after generation for ages have the best and wisest of our countrymen been directing attention to this deplorable deficiency in our systems of public instruction. And now the people are awakening to it. In all quarters and among all classes, men and women are beginning to feel that there is no reason why education should not, through a proper use of the same instruments, be directed to the same ends, as the ends to which the ancients directed it; why poetry, why history, why art and philosophy generally should not be brought into the same influential relation to the lives of English citizens as they stood to the lives of the citizens in Athens and Rome. But in education, regarded systematically, all moves from above. If culture of this kind is to be disseminated, it can be disseminated only by missionaries from a common centre, and that not casually, by one here and one there, but systematically, and as the reflective result of

system. It is the misfortune of this country, and it is the only country in the world which labours under the same misfortune, that our system of public instruction is under a divided rule. Education in its elementary and primary grades is to a considerable extent under the control of Government, and nothing could be more satisfactory than its organization. Education on its scientific and technical sides, as it is the common concern, so consequently it is the common care of the State generally, and its security from mismanagement and misdirection at the hands of particular bodies is therefore assured. But the regulation of what are denominated liberal studies, the direction of that education for which the people are now pleading, has been left entirely to the Universities. Absolutely irresponsible, and absolutely autocratic, neither public opinion, nor any form which authority from without can assume, has ever been allowed the smallest weight in their councils. During the last few years, both Oxford and Cambridge have been petitioned, and petitioned over and over again, to take into consideration the serious deficiencies which confessedly exist in our system of advanced education. It has been pointed out that they are now standing face to face with new duties and new responsibilities; that the comparatively contracted sphere to which their direct

influence was formerly confined is rapidly becoming co-extensive with the kingdom; that in an immense adult population there is no class with which they are not being brought into immediate and intimate contact; that the influence therefore which they have hitherto exercised on popular education, on its religious side, it is perfectly competent for them to extend to that education on its ethical, on its political, and on its artistic sides; that in Literature, if Literature include what it ought to include, they have the instrument, and in the interpretation of Literature the means, of affording such instruction. It has been pointed out that if Literature as a subject of teaching is to effect for popular culture what it is of power to effect; if, as an instrument of political education, it is to warn, to admonish, to guide; if, as an instrument of moral and æsthetic education, it is to exercise that influence on taste, on tone, on sentiment, on opinion, on character, on all, in fine, which is susceptible of educational impression, it must first hold that place in the training of its modern exponents which it held in that of the training of its exponents in ancient times; that it must be rescued from its present degrading vassalage to Philology, that its profession must not be regarded as the common property and makeshift of any graduate in any faculty whom accident may

turn to it; that all that constitutes, or ought to constitute, a liberal academic education in *Literæ Humaniores* must be regarded as a foundation not less indispensable to the special and particular discipline of its teachers than a training in geometry was, according to the inscription on Plato's School, a preliminary indispensable to the study of his Philosophy; that its boundaries must be enlarged that the interpretation of such classical works in moral and political philosophy, in theology and metaphysics, as are not merely technical and esoteric, of such works, for example, as the *Republic*, the *Apology* and *Phædo*, the *Memorabilia*, the *Politics*, the *Ethics*, the *Analogy* and *Sermons* of Butler, the chief political treatises of Hobbes, of Burke, of De Tocqueville, should be as much the business of its missionaries as the interpretation of what is ordinarily included in *Belles Lettres*. Nor was this all. Attention was directed to the disastrous effects resulting from the refusal of the Universities to distinguish between a literary and a philological study of the Greek and Roman Classics, between their interest as monuments of language, and their value as the expression of genius and art. If, it was pleaded, they were to maintain their place in modern education, they could maintain it only by virtue of their relation to Philosophy and Literature, and that regarded from

this point of view there would be little danger of their supremacy being shaken. It was urged that what was needed was provision for a liberal study of the Classics of Greece and Rome side by side with the liberal study of our own Classics and the Classics of the Continent, as this would at once place the study of the Greek and Roman Literatures on the only footing on which in modern times it is possible to justify it, and at the same time raise the study of English Literature to its proper level in education.

The result of this appeal is an excellent illustration of the fate of liberal movements in our Universities. There has never been wanting either at Oxford or at Cambridge a small minority which sees clearly the sort of reforms which are needed, and as clearly by what means and in what way they may best be effected. This minority, recognizing the reasonableness of the appeal, and anxious to introduce the study of Literature into the University, so far prevailed as to obtain the consent of Convocation to the foundation of an English Chair. A Chair of English Literature was accordingly founded and liberally endowed. A Board of Electors was appointed. As there was already a Chair of Celtic, a Chair of Anglo-Saxon, a Chair of Comparative Philology, and as, therefore, the philological study of English had been amply provided for, it was confidently anticipated

that the choice of the electors would fall on the sort of teacher contemplated by the originators of the movement. Indeed, it was hoped and expected that Matthew Arnold would be invited to fill it. But Philology triumphed. The Board, discovering that though the language of Cædmon and the language of Oisin had received the attention they deserved, the dialect of Robert of Gloucester and William of Shoreham had not, determined to seize this opportunity to remedy the defect. Availing themselves of a quibble on the word "language," for the statute authorizing the foundation of the Chair happened by a mere accident to couple the word "language" with "literature," they succeeded in ignoring the object for which the Chair was founded, and proceeded to elect, at a permanent salary of £900 a year, a professor for the interpretation of Middle English. But the perversion of this Chair was merely a preliminary step. A Professor elected on such a theory of the scope and functions of a Chair of Literature was to have been succeeded by a School framed in accordance with the same theory of the scope and functions of a School of Literature. What the constitution of the curriculum of that School was to have been has been explained by Professor Max Müller. It was

"to consist of three branches—Teutonic, Romanic, and Celtic. The Teutonic to be subdivided into an English,

German and Scandinavian section: the Romanic into a Southern (Provençal and Italian) a Northern (French) and possibly a third section comprising Spanish and Portuguese. These are as yet *pia vota* only, but I have that faith in young Oxford that with certain modifications and possibly after some hesitation some such scheme will be carried."

This scheme, it may be added, is simply the counterpart of the scheme which has unhappily found embodiment in the Mediæval and Modern Languages Tripos at Cambridge. Let us consider for a moment what the effect of such a curriculum on the prospects of education and culture would be likely to be. In the first place, it would confer on a successful candidate the academic diploma of an Honour degree in "Literature." His "literary" qualifications would certainly be remarkable. In the leading and parent Literatures of the world he would have received no instruction. In the principles of criticism he would have received no instruction. Taught to approach literature purely in relation to philology, of literature in its relation to history, to ethics, to politics, to æsthetics, he would have been required to pay no attention at all. Of works which are the glory of the human race in poetry, in oratory, in philosophy, in criticism, he need never have read one line. With the barbarous and semi-barbarous experiments of the infancy of civilization and with the niceties of the various Romance and Teutonic dialects he would have

been expected to be minutely acquainted; he would, indeed, have spent the three best years of his life in mastering them. What effect such discipline as this would be likely to have on taste, on tone, on temper, on all these faculties and powers, in fine, which take their ply and derive their quality from education, it is not difficult to see. Nor again is it difficult to foresee what would be likely to be the notions of a teacher, who emerged from such a training to represent and interpret Literature, on the scope and functions of Literature as an instrument of culture. And this is not all. What the Literature of Greece is to that of Rome, the Literatures of Greece and Rome are to that of England. A scholar would at once see the absurdity of separating the study of the Roman Classics from that of the Greek, for the simple reason that without a knowledge of the latter the former are historically and critically unintelligible. Imagine a lecturer professing to interpret the *Æneid* without an adequate acquaintance with the Homeric Poems, with the Attic Drama, with the *Argonautica* of Apollonius, or a man setting up to expound the Odes of Horace who was ignorant of Greek Lyric Poetry. And yet the absurdity of separating the study of our own Classics from the study of the Greek and Roman Classics is equally great. Not only have most of our poets and all our best prose-writers, as well in the

present age as in former ages, been nourished on the Literatures of Greece and Rome; not only has the form of at least two-thirds of our best poetry and our best prose derived its distinctive features from those Literatures; not only has the influence of those Literatures, alternately modifying and moulding our own, determined its course and its characteristics, but a very large portion of what is most valuable in our poetry is as historically unintelligible apart from the Greek and Roman Classics as the epic, lyric, and elegiac poetry of Rome is, apart from the epic, lyric, and elegiac poetry of Greece. Take, for example, the poetry of Milton. Could anything be more preposterous than for a man to undertake to comment on *Paradise Lost*, on *Paradise Regained*, on *Comus*, on *Samson Agonistes*, who was unacquainted with the Literatures which were to Milton's genius what the soil is to a plant, and which determined not merely his character as an artist, but exercised an influence on his intellect and temper scarcely less powerful than hereditary instincts and contemporary history? On those Classics his taste was formed, on their style his style was modelled. From their diction and method his diction and method derived nearly all their peculiarities. Their influence transformed what would in all probability have been the mere counterpart of Cædmon's *Paraphrase* or Langland's *Vision*

into *Paradise Lost;* and what might have been the mere counterparts of *Corydon's Doleful Knell* and the *Satyre of the Three Estaitis* into *Lycidas* and *Comus.* And what applies to Milton applies in various degrees to innumerable others. The key to the peculiarities of Gray is to be found in Pindar and Horace. The key to the peculiarities of Dryden and Pope is to be found—and to be found only—in the Roman poets. There is much in the very essence of Spenser's poetry, there is much in the very essence of Wordsworth's poetry, which must be absolutely without meaning to readers ignorant of the Platonic Dialogues. Apart from the Greek and Roman classics, the greater portion of Lord Tennyson's best work is, from a critical point of view, unintelligible. The best commentary on Shakespeare is Sophocles, as the best commentary on Burke is Cicero.

That a great University should think itself justified in granting an Honour Diploma in English Literature without securing in those on whom it is conferred an adequate knowledge of the ancient Classics is nothing less than scandalous.

The former attempt in the University of Oxford to establish a School of the kind which has been described having been happily defeated, the attempt is now being renewed. It remains to be seen whether those who would provide for the study of

Literature in the proper sense of the term will be strong enough to thwart the efforts of the philological party—in other words, whether a School in which the interests of Philology will be subordinated to those of Literature, or a School in which the interests of Literature will be subordinated to those of Philology, shall be established in the University. As the former attempt was defeated only by a casting vote, and as the University is almost completely under the dominion of those who would dissociate it from national education and national life by preserving it as a nursery for specialists and a centre of technical learning, there is too much reason to fear that the philologists will carry the day. How indeed the interests of literary culture are likely to fare in a University in which there are no less than eighteen Chairs and Readerships in languages maintained, and that at a cost of nearly £7000 a year,[1] while Literature as *Belles Lettres* and

[1] Greek, £500; Hebrew, £300; Arabic, £300; Lord Almoner's Chair of Arabic, £50; Anglo-Saxon, £300; Modern European languages recently resolved into Four Teacherships, £800; Latin, £900; Comparative Philology, £900; Chinese, £300; Celtic, £600; The Merton Chair (Anglo-Saxon and Middle English), £900; Hindustani, £200; Persian, £200; Telugu, £200; Sanscrit, £1,000. Efforts are now being made to provide Chairs and Readerships "in Polish and other Slavonic languages." Most of these Chairs are, it

Rhetoric is, if we except a few casual lectures delivered by the Professor of Poetry, absolutely unrepresented, it is not difficult to conjecture.

Indeed no further proof of the determination of the University to ignore national interests of culture and education in the local interests of specialism and Philology need be given than the *Times'* report of what took place in Congregation, when the proposal that a School of Literature should be established. I will transcribe it at length. For what took place then will certainly take place again, and it is well that it should be generally known.

"The question of literature *versus* philology was at the bottom of the whole discussion, which consisted largely of philological disquisitions on languages and their relations. On the proposal of Mr. Snow and Mr. York Powell, Swedish, Danish, and Icelandic, and on the proposal of Mr. Evans and Mr. York Powell, "Letto-Slavic," were added to the subjects of the school. It was carried by a large majority (60 to 11) that the examination in English should include Anglo-Saxon, and by a smaller majority (58 to 26) that English as well as German should necessitate Gothic. The proposal of Mr. Butler that literature, including such knowledge of history as may be needed for the understanding of the subject, shall have the greater (instead of equal) weight in the distribution of honours was strongly

may be added, little more than sinecures. See for details about this almost incredible state of things *Edinburgh Review*, for October, 1889.

opposed by Professor Freeman. It went, he said, to the root of the matter. There were two senses of the word literature. The statute read it in the higher sense of the "real solid study of books." But besides there were subjects not fit for examination: such were, for example, questions of taste. The school was to be primarily a school of language, and literature in the lower sense was a subject to be excluded. Professor Earle, defending the introduction of the early periods of a language, maintained that it was the embryology of literature that had to be learnt. The higher criticism was a thing οὐδὲ διδακτὸν οὐδὲ ἐξεταστόν. The President of Magdalen appealed to Professor Freeman, as the author of a well-known magazine article, whether English literature ought not to be subjected to a classical handling, something different from that of a school of philology. Professor Rhys (the Professor of Celtic) trusted the university would not be bullied or misled by articles in periodicals into a wrong course. Mr. Butler's amendment was rejected by 60 votes to 15." *Times* for May 18th, 1887.

It may be added that the result of this movement was a suggestion that the salary of the Professor of Anglo-Saxon should be increased, and a proposal that the Chair of Poetry, the only Chair in which Literature is represented in the University, should be abolished.

I have now sufficiently explained how wide and general is the requirement for the sort of instruction which it is competent for Literature, if properly interpreted, to provide, and how great are the difficulties with which those who would advocate pro-

vision for that instruction at the centres of education have to contend.

Let us next consider what have been the effects of the Universities' sacrificing so completely the interests of Literature to the interests of Philology.

CHAPTER II

NEED OF SYSTEMATIZING THE STUDY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

AMONG all the anomalies in which the history of education abounds it would be difficult to find one more extraordinary than our present system of teaching, and legislating for the teaching of, English Literature. The importance of that subject, both from a positive point of view as a branch of knowledge, and from an educational point of view as an instrument of culture, is so fully recognized that its study is everywhere encouraged. It forms a portion of the curriculum at Cambridge. It is about to form a portion of the curriculum at Oxford. It holds a foremost place in our leading Civil Service Examinations, and it is among the subjects prescribed for the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations. In the Extension Lectures it fills a wider space than either Science or History. There is probably no School in

England, whether public or private, in which it is not taught. The number of books and booklets, manuals, primers, sketches, charts, annotated editions, and the like designed to facilitate its study exceeds calculation. To all appearance, indeed, there is no branch of education in a more flourishing condition or more full of promise for the future. But, unhappily, this is very far from being the case. In spite of its great vogue, and in spite of the time and energy lavished in teaching it, no fact is more certain than that from an educational point of view it is, and from the very first has been, an utter failure. Teachers perceive with perplexity that it attains none of the ends which a subject in itself so full of attraction and interest might be expected to attain. It fails, they complain, to fertilise; it fails to inform; it fails even to awaken curiosity. For a dozen youths who derive real benefit from the instruction they get in preparing for an examination in History there are not two who derive the smallest benefit from the instruction they get in preparing for an examination in Literature. In the first case the chances are that a lad of ordinary intelligence will not only have learned what he has learned with relish and pleasure, will not only therefore retain and assimilate much of what he has been taught, but will have had im-

planted in him a genuine and perhaps permanent interest in history generally. In the second case he will be a singular exception to the rule if, six months after he has poured out in "Shakespeare Papers," in "Bacon Papers," in "General Literature Papers" the substance of his lectures, he either retains or cares to retain a tithe of what he has been at so much pains to acquire. No one who has had experience in examining can have failed to be struck by the difference between the answers sent in to questions on English Literature and the answers sent in to questions on other subjects. In a paper on Literature the questions designed to test intelligence and judgment will as a rule be carefully avoided, or if attempted prove only too conclusively the absence of both; but questions involving no more than can be attained by the unreflective exercise of memory will be answered with a fluency and fulness which is often perfectly miraculous.

The consequence of all this is that those whose estimate of the educational value of a subject is not determined by the facility it affords for making marks in competitive examinations are beginning to regard "English Literature" with increasing disfavour. In the Examination for the Civil Service of India it has until quite recently been degraded to a secondary place. From the Army Examinations, by

a recent order, it has been entirely eliminated. The Council of the Holloway College have decided to recognize it only in connection with Philology. More than one eminent authority has pronounced that it cannot be taught, that its introduction into our scholastic curricula was an experiment, and an experiment that has failed.

It is no doubt natural to judge of the educational value of any given subject of teaching by the results of that teaching. And yet we may often be very grievously mistaken. A striking illustration of this is to be found in the case of the Classics. A wretched system of word-mongering and pedantry bears its natural fruits. Two noble Literatures, eminently calculated to attain all the ends of a liberal education, and such as would in the hands of competent teachers be certain to attract and interest the young, are rendered repulsive and unintelligible. A cry arises that the Classics are a failure. "Demosthenes," says a plain man, "may be the prince of orators, and Homer the prince of poets; but when I find that my boy, after hammering at them for twelve years, knows nothing and cares nothing about either the prince of orators or the prince of poets, I have not much faith in the Classics." Again —a lad leaves school, becomes a writer or public speaker, finds himself reading the literature of

modern Europe with ease and pleasure, re-opens Homer or Catullus, discovers that he is unable to make out five lines, closes the volume with a sigh, and goes forth to swell the cry against "the Classics." A ludicrous coalition—composed partly of malcontents like these, partly of noisy Philistines who never read a line of a Greek or Roman author in their lives, but who "argue the question on *a priori* grounds;" partly of perplexed schoolmasters, and partly of recalcitrant drudges conscious of the futility of their labours and ready to support anyone who confirms them in their impression—is formed. Each in his own way passes judgment on "the Classics." Each in his own way is furnished with unanswerable arguments against their employment as a means of education.

It never seems to occur to these persons to inquire whether the fault lies in the Classics or in those who teach them; whether it is the tools which are in fault or the workmen. The absurdity of concluding that because a particular watch cannot be made to keep time accurately it is neither possible nor desirable for time to be kept accurately, is not greater than the absurdity of concluding that because the present method of teaching the Classics has failed we should do well to cease to teach them at all. The truth is that there is all the difference in the world between

what is implied by "Classics" and what is implied by the Classics, and the mistake of the anti-classicists lies in their failing to perceive the distinction. By the first is implied partly a system and partly the machinery of that system. Virgil as one of the classics and Virgil in his relation to "Classics"—in other words, Virgil as he affords material for teaching and Virgil as he is actually taught—bears indeed the same name and is therefore very naturally confounded. But no greater mistake could be made. If by urging the uselessness of the *Georgics* and *Æneid* as text-books for teaching we mean the *Georgics* and *Æneid* of Heyne and Forbiger, we readily admit that popular education would gain by the ostracism of Virgil; but Heyne and Forbiger are not Virgil. If a radical reform in our methods of classical teaching were instituted, and experiment recorded failure, it would be time to show cause why Sophocles should not be superseded by Goethe and Horace by Béranger; but the experiment has not been tried.

Now all this is exactly repeating itself in the condition and prospects of our own Literature. Since its recognition as a subject of teaching it has been taught wherever it has been seriously taught on the same principle as the Classics. It has been regarded not as the expression of art and genius,

but as mere material for the study of words, as mere pabulum for philology. All that constitutes its intrinsic value has been ignored. All that constitutes its value as a liberal study has been ignored. Its masterpieces have been resolved into exercises in grammar, syntax, and etymology. Its history has been resolved into a barren catalogue of names, works, and dates. No faculty but the faculty of memory has been called into play in studying it. That it should therefore have failed as an instrument of education is no more than might have been expected. But it has failed for the same reason that "Classics" have failed. It has failed not because it affords no material for profitable teaching, but because we pervert it into material for unprofitable teaching. Nor is this all. Thucydides has remarked that a state fares better under indifferent laws efficiently administered than under excellent laws administered inefficiently. Whatever exception may be taken to our classical system, it has the advantage of being organised. The utmost that its legislation can accomplish is attained. It has its standards and its tests, and both are uniform. It never oscillates between conflicting theories. What is taught in one place is not contradicted in another.

But in our English system all is anarchy. A

teacher who should entertain the soundest and most enlightened views of the ends at which literary teachers should aim would have no security that his work would not be tested and his pupils plucked by a man against whose views his whole work had been a tacit protest. If in a School or Institute instruction in English Literature be required, an application for such instruction is made—and the rest is fortune. It may come in the form of excellent lectures the theory and method of which proceed on the principle that English Literature began in the valleys of the Punjab and ended at the birth of Chaucer, or it may come in the form of excellent lectures in which all that preceded Spenser and Shakespeare is contemptuously ignored. It may consist of bald compilations from current handbooks, or it may consist of vague and florid declamations in the æsthetic style. It may confine itself—and this perhaps is most likely—to philological comments on particular works. That there are living and working among us—and that in large numbers—intelligent and efficient teachers who err neither on the side of pedantry nor on the side of dilettantism is undoubtedly true. But they are scattered and isolated. They are hampered and thwarted in their work by its disconnection with any recognized system, and still oftener by the regulations of Examining Boards. Without any common centre,

they are without any common plan of action. Such is the present condition of what ought to be our most efficient instrument of popular education.

Whether all this can be remedied is surely worth serious consideration. Two things are certain: English Literature in the proper and obvious sense of the term is and will continue to be a subject of teaching in all parts of the kingdom; and if that teaching is not organized, and those who undertake it not educated, nothing but anarchy can be the result. It is useless for the Universities to attempt to solve the problem by attaching to Literature a meaning which it does not bear. If Philology be confounded with Literature at Oxford and Cambridge, the world without will distinguish them. The pupils will be wiser than the masters. Of the uselessness of such institutions as the Mediæval and Modern Languages Tripos at Cambridge no further proof is needed than the records of the Class-lists of that Tripos.

In 1886.		*In* 1888.	
First Class	none	First Class	none
Second Class	one	Second Class	none
Third Class	two	Third Class	two
In 1887.		*In* 1889.	
First Class	none	First Class	three
Second Class	one	Second Class	three
Third Class	none	Third Class	four

In 1890.	*In* 1891.
First Class . . . . one	First Class . . . . one
Second Class . . . . two	Second Class . . . . two
Third Class . . . . one	Third Class . . . . three

And so this wretched institution blunders on, serving no end, satisfying no need, with six Examiners, each receiving a fee of twenty pounds from the University Chest, to an average of four examinees. Incredible as it may seem, Oxford is now preparing at a vast expense to establish a precisely similar institution founded on precisely the same theory of the meaning of Literature. Thus, while English Literature is in every part of the country a subject of teaching in one sense of the term, it is not even recognized at the centres of education, except in another sense of the term.

CHAPTER III

ENGLISH LITERATURE AS A SUBJECT OF TEACHING

THE contention of the Universities is that, if English Literature is to be regarded as a subject susceptible of systematic and accurate study, a study the results of which are to be submitted to the same tests as the results of other studies recognized in educational curricula, no other signification can be attached to it than the signification attached to it by philologists. "It is only the embryology of literature that has to be learnt," is, as we have seen, the dictum of Professor Earle—"the higher criticism is a thing *οὐδὲ διδακτὸν οὐδὲ ἐξεταστόν*." "There are many things fit for a man's personal study," writes Professor Freeman, in answer to a correspondent in the *Times*,[1] "which are not fit for University examinations. One of these is 'literature' in the 'Lecturer's' sense. He (the correspondent) tells us that it 'cultivates the taste, educates

[1] *Times* for June 8, 1887.

the sympathies, enlarges the mind.' Excellent results, against which no one has a word to say. Only we cannot examine in tastes and sympathies. The examiner, in any branch of knowledge, must stick to the duller range of that 'technical and positive information.' . . ." Such are the objections of one class of the opponents of Literature—it is a subject too intangible for the kind of instruction which has to be submitted to the test of examination. And other opponents have other objections. If, they urge, we attempted to study it as *Belles Lettres*, what would be the result? On the historical side its study would be stereotyped into one species of cram, on the critical side into another. An elaborate apparatus of mnemonic aids would be devised. Such works as Mr. Morley's would be summarized into tables for facts, and such works as M. Taine's would be reduced to epitomes for generalizations. Criticism as applied to particular authors would be got by heart from essays and monographs, and criticism on its theoretical side would be got by heart from the analyses of crammers. If this were not the result, all would evaporate in dilettantism. It would be impossible for examiners to frame such questions as would baffle abuse. Now all this will apply equally to History and Philosophy, and yet the problem of organizing the academic study of both has been solved, and with

what success we all know. To say that Literature is a subject peculiarly susceptible of being crammed is absurd. By cram we simply mean knowledge acquired by the unreflecting exercise of memory; and whether such knowledge is to be obtained depends on whether it is to have opportunities for displaying itself. It is open to an examiner in History to frame his questions on the model of—

Enumerate, with their dates, the Archbishops of Canterbury as far as the accession of Henry VII., and the Popes from the death of Gregory the Great to the accession of Alexander III.

It is open to an examiner in Literature to frame his questions on the model of—

Give the Christian names of Langland, Lydgate, Hawes, Coleridge, Denham, Pope, Akenside, and Gray, and give the authors of *Hobbinol*, *The History of John Bull*, *Hydriotaphia*, *The Bristowe Tragedy*, &c.

But it is equally open to the first to propose such questions as—

The Church has been called "the democracy of the Middle Ages." Discuss that statement.

And to the second to propose such questions as—

Define the essential characteristics of Romanticism and Classicism, and account for the predominance, at particular periods, of each.

The first questions are obviously cram questions; the second as obviously are not. Again, with reference to criticism: whether it could be crammed or not would depend entirely on the tact of examiners. If questions on the "essential characteristics" of the genius and style of particular writers became a stock part of the examination, they would in all probability be crammed; but what competent examiner would dream of setting them? The application of Hume's maxim that criticism without examples is worthless would alone suffice to defeat this form of imposture. To say that such works as Sidney's *Apology for Poetry*, Dryden's *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, Addison's Papers on Milton, Johnson's *Lives*, Coleridge's *Lectures*, and the like, would be "got up from analyses" is true enough, but it is no less true of every special book in the History School, and of every special book in the Philosophy School.

We are told, again, that the teaching of English Literature as a branch of *Belles Lettres* is impracticable on another ground. It is not a subject sufficiently "solid and tangible" for examination purposes. Take Shakespeare. Make it impossible for candidates to be admitted to an examination in Shakespeare without a thorough knowledge of French and German, of Old Saxon and Mœso-Gothic, and then frame two-thirds of your questions after this fashion:—

1. Point out textual difficulties, and mention and criticise any suggested emendations on these passages [then follow in due order the (*a*), the (*b*), the (*c*), &c. &c.].

2. Give some account of the extent and variety of Shakespeare's vocabulary.

3. Mention and discuss some points in which Elizabethan grammar differs from Victorian.

4. What are the relative proportions of the Teutonic and Latin elements in the phraseology of Shakespeare?

Do this, and Shakespeare becomes a solid and tangible subject for examination. Admitting that from this point of view Shakespeare becomes a "solid and tangible subject," are we therefore to assume that when his Dramas ceased to be studied on the same method and under the same conditions as the *Ormulum* and the *Ayenbite of Inwyt* are studied, they cease to be applicable to purposes of education, cease to be susceptible of serious treatment? Suppose that, instead of the questions to which I have just drawn attention, the following were substituted:—

1. The epithet which best characterises Shakespeare is "myriad-minded." Discuss that statement.

2. Point out Shakespeare's obligations to his dramatic predecessors and contemporaries, and discuss the statement that "Pure Comedy" was his creation.

3. Discuss the theology and ethics of Shakespeare, and show how they bear out Jonson's assertion that he was "not of an age, but for all time."

4. Discuss Goethe's analysis of the character of Hamlet.

5. Discuss and account for the political teaching of Shakespeare.

Would not Shakespeare, when studied from this point of view, become an equally "solid and tangible subject," and lead perhaps to more "solid and tangible" results in education? But to turn from the study of particular authors to the study of the general history of English Literature. The objection here is not to its intangibleness, but to the facility it would afford for cramming. Now why it should lead to cramming when questions set on it should assume the form of—

Two-thirds of what is most valuable in English Literature is as historically unintelligible apart from Classical Literature, as the history of Latin Literature would be apart from Greek. Discuss that statement;

or—

Account for the dominance of the Classical School between 1667 and 1744, and for the Romantic revival in and about 1793;

and should *not* lead to cramming when they assume the form of[1]—

Give some account of the state of our language in regard both of (*sic*) its grammatical forms and usages, and of its vocabulary, at the beginning of the sixteenth century;

[1] The questions which follow are taken from the papers set in the Mediæval and Modern Languages Tripos.

or—

Discuss these words and phrases—Areopagitica—all to-ruffled—the dreaded name of Demogorgon—his shouldets fledge with wings—Pharaoh's pensioners—to plume the regal rights—angel's metal—in my warm blood and canicular days—a serviceable dudgeon—in every man's life certain rubs, doublings, and wrenches ;

—it would be very interesting to know. But precedent is to experiment what proof is to assertion. And as the study of English Literature, as distinguished from English Philology, has not been reduced to system in the past, it is no more than we might expect from those who have always proceeded on the principle of *auctoritas pro veritate, non veritas pro auctoritate,* that they should deny the possibility of reducing it to system in the present.

In legislating for the teaching of English Literature—and the term Literature needs no definition—we have obviously to bear two things in mind—the necessity for an adequate treatment of it from an historical point of view and the necessity for an adequate treatment of it from a critical point of view. In treating it historically we have as obviously to regard it generally as an organic whole, as the expression of national idiosyncrasies revealing themselves under various conditions, to consider it particularly in its relations to those

conditions, and to consider it finally in its relation to individuals. Thus in dealing historically with any given work—say, *Paradise Lost*—what a teacher has to explain is how and why the poem could have been produced only by an Englishman; how and why it could have been produced only under the conditions under which it was produced; how and why it could have been produced only by Milton. Literary teachers are therefore as much concerned with the study of "origins" as the philologists are, but in "origins" not as they throw light on language, but on character. They are not at all concerned with the O. S., O. H. G., M. H. G., and N.H.G. equivalents of *ê, ei, ô, û, ai, au, iu;* but they are very much concerned with the fact that if Wordsworth had not been of the Teutonic stock, he could not have written the *Ode to Duty* or the *Lines on Tintern Abbey.* Whether Professor Rhys is right or wrong in supposing that in the case of *Vedomaui* and *Mauoh* the *mau-i* and *mau-o* are of the same origin as *mai* in *Gwalchmai* is of no consequence to them, but whether Matthew Arnold was right or wrong in what he preached to us about the Celtic element in our literature is of the greatest consequence.

To trace back to their sources the elements—sensuous, spiritual, moral, intellectual—which mingle in the composition of English masterpieces is all

that appertains to the student of Literature. That it would for this purpose be an advantage to him to be able to peruse the *Taîn Bo* and the *Beowulf*, the *Kraku-Mal*, and the *Giratz de Rossilho* in the original is indisputable; that it would not be necessary for him to do so is obvious; for what concerns him in them is not the form, is not the intrinsic value, but the light thrown collaterally on temper and character. The many excellent histories and monographs, Ten Brink's *Early English Literature*, for example, or even such a work as Professor Earle's *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, the many excellent English versions of all that is most valuable and most characteristic in Celtic and Saxon Literature would in truth give him all the information which for his purposes he would require. Thus a student who understood clearly the character and temper of the forefathers of our Literature, and who had at the same time mastered some competent and succinct survey of its history, would have no difficulty in conceiving of it as an organic whole, and the foundation of a systematic study would have been laid.

In proceeding to the next step—in tracing, that is to say, the evolution of our Literature in detail—we are confronted with the difficulty of there being no good general history in existence—a deficiency which

the Universities ought long ago to have supplied. M. Taine's work, though a work of great genius and great eloquence, is rather a series of brilliant sketches than a continuous and ordered narrative, and is moreover too full of paradox and exaggeration for the purposes of sober students. Professor Morley's epitome is at once too full and too meagre; its pages are crowded with names and titles in bewildering multitudes; but of the causes which have conspired to form epochs in literary activity, and of the characteristics of such epochs, very inadequate accounts are given. Chambers's *Cyclopædia of English Literature*, a work which so far as it goes it is impossible to praise too highly, has no pretension to being more than a mere manual with illustrative extracts. The works of Craik and Shaw are simply handbooks. The consequence of this is, that if a student wishes to obtain a general knowledge of the history of our Literature, he is driven to seek information about one period in one book and about another period in another book, having at the same time to supply the connecting links for himself. To illustrate what is meant. Taken in its whole extent, the history of English Literature proper may be divided into nine epochs. The first will extend from about the middle of the fourteenth century to the death of Chaucer in 1400; the second

from the death of Chaucer to the accession of Henry the Eighth; the third from that date to the accession of Elizabeth; the fourth from the accession of Elizabeth to the accession of Charles the First; the fifth from the accession of Charles the First to the death of Dryden in 1700; the sixth to the death of Swift in 1745; the seventh from the death of Swift to the publication of the *Lyrical Ballads* in 1798; the eighth to the death of Wordsworth in 1850; and the ninth from that date to the present time. Now of none of these periods, if we except the first and second, which, so far as poetry is concerned, have been methodically though not adequately treated by Warton, have we any connected history at all. For the Elizabethan Age we must consult, for the drama, Collier's and Ward's histories of Dramatic Poetry, and the notices and critiques which have appeared separately of each of the dramatists; for narrative, lyric, and other branches of poetry we have nothing to fall back upon except such information as may be gathered piecemeal from editors and essayists. With regard to prose literature we are in a still more unfortunate condition; for not only has no attempt been made to trace its history from the pseudo-Maundeville to Milton, but we have few or none of those "studies" of particular writers which have in the case of poetry served to illustrate, at all events occasionally and

fragmentarily, the process of its development. And what applies to the history of our Literature in its earlier stages applies equally to its history during later epochs. There is, it is true, no lack of excellent monographs and essays, such as Macaulay's Essays on Addison and the Comic Dramatists of the Restoration, or Forster's Essays on Steele and Churchill, and such as some of the volumes in the English Men of Letters series; but these neither supply nor were designed to supply the sort of work which the serious student of the history of English Literature requires. Nothing is so necessary in treating Literature historically as the recognition of its continuity on the one hand and a clear exposition of what marks and constitutes epochs in its development on the other, and nothing is in teaching so universally disregarded. What is needed is a series of volumes corresponding to each of the periods into which the history of our Literature naturally divides itself, each period being treated separately in detail, but each being linked by historical disquisitions both with the period immediately preceding and with the period immediately following. And each volume might consist of four parts. Its prologue, which should be virtually the epilogue of its predecessor, should, after assigning the determining dates of the particular period under treatment, show how, in obedience to the causes

which regulate the course and phases of literary activity, the literature characteristic of the preceding epoch developed or degenerated into the literature characteristic of the new. Next should come a careful account of the environment, social, political, moral, intellectual, of that literature, not given in general or in the abstract, but accompanied throughout with illustrations drawn from the constituent elements of typical works. But nothing is more important than what constitutes the third function of historical interpretation. The influence exercised by other Literatures on our own has been so considerable that it is impossible to study it without continual reference to them. It has been at various times affected by that of Italy, by that of France, by that of Germany, but to those of Greece and Rome it is bound by indissoluble ties. An adequate account of the influence of these Literatures on the formal development of our own has long been a desideratum, and it is a desideratum which it should be one of the first objects of such a series of text-books as we have here advocated to supply. To these disquisitions—and this should form the fourth and last part of each volume—should be attached tables in which, arranged according to their schools and under their various categories, the writers of the particular epoch under treatment should, together with their

works, be enumerated, and enumerated descriptively. With such guides as these in his hands the student would proceed to the biography of particular writers and to the study of particular works—the next and not less important part of his task—furnished with the knowledge which would alone suffice to render both historically intelligible.

But to pass from the historical to the critical treatment of Literature—in other words, to the interpretation of particular works. In that interpretation is necessarily involved much which has been included under the former heading; but we have now to consider what is not included under that heading—verbal analysis, analysis of form and style, analysis of sentiment, ethic, and thought. To secure that each should be adequate, that each should have its place, and that each should receive equal attention, is obviously the business of the teacher. The mistake commonly made is to attach too much importance to the first, to deal with the second very inefficiently, and to neglect the third altogether. This is the result of one of the most serious deficiencies in our higher education. We have absolutely no provision for systematic critical training. Rhetorical criticism as a subject of teaching is confined to what is known in elementary schools as "analysis." Æsthetic and philosophical criticism is as a branch of teaching without

recognition at all. It has been killed by philology. Fifty years ago such works as the *Institutes* of Quintilian, the *De Sublimitate*, and the *Rhetoric* were studied as thoroughly and methodically as the *Ethics* and the *Republic* are studied now. And till that study is revived and extended—till, in addition to the treatises of the ancients, such treatises as the *Laocoon* and Schiller's *Letters and Essays on Æsthetic Education* have a place in our Universities—there is small hope of sound principles of exegesis. For in education all moves from above. Systematize a study at the universities, and it is systematized throughout the country; neglect it at those centres, and anarchy elsewhere is the result. This grave defect in our educational system has furnished the opponents of Literature with an excellent weapon, and has led to serious misconceptions on the part of those who would fain be its advocates. Æsthetic criticism, it is said, will lead only to vague and useless generalities. If one man has not the wit and taste to relish the beauties of poetry, it is very certain that another man will not enable him to do so. You may expound Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* and Bacon's treatise on the *Advancement of Learning* profitably enough, but you cannot expound the *Ode to a Skylark* or the *Eve of St. Agnes*. Criticism, if it is to be a real service in practical

education, can deal only with what is positive and tangible. It is only the embryology of literature that can be learned. Tastes and sympathies, as Professor Freeman remarks, are beyond the reach of examination. Our Universities cannot manufacture Arnolds and Sainte-Beuves.

All this and much more of the same kind has been gravely brought forward as an argument against the Universities providing for the study of *Belles Lettres*. It is no doubt true, both with regard to criticism and with regard to Literature generally, that if a man is an Arnold or a Sainte-Beuve he will educate himself; it is true also that no amount of teaching will make him an Arnold or a Sainte-Beuve; but it is no less true that hundreds of men are engaged in interpreting poetry and literature who are neither one nor the other, and that if instruction does not do for them what nature and self-culture have not done, they will perform their work inefficiently. When Professor Earle informs us that the higher criticism is a thing *οὐδὲ διδακτὸν οὐδὲ ἐξεταστόν*, and that it is therefore no function of academic education to train men to become critics, in other words to teach them to approach and appreciate Literature critically, he asserts what it is difficult from its mere absurdity to refute. But he asserts what lets us into the secret of the failure of our academic system on the side of

culture. He enables us to understand the full measure of the mischief which the complete subordination of the literary to the philological side of classical study is calculated to effect. What in the eyes of any intelligent person is the chief end of discipline in *Literæ Humaniores*? Why, the very end at which, according to Professor Earle, it is impossible for academic instruction to aim—the cultivation and discipline of those powers and faculties which constitute a critic. "We cannot examine," says Professor Freeman, "in tastes and sympathies." No, examine in the *Poetics*, in the *Rhetoric*, in Quintilian's *Institutes*, in the *De Sublimitate*, in the *Laocoon*, and examine with the object of testing the results of such discipline.

A student indeed who should have mastered the *Poetics*, the second book of the *Rhetoric*, the tenth book of the *Institutes*, the *De Oratore*, the *De Sublimitate*, and Lessing's *Laocoon* would have laid the foundations of a sound critical education. It may be objected to what has been said that such a standard of teaching is neither generally possible nor at all necessary, that it is mere pedantry to suppose that an adequate interpretation of an English Classic depends on a knowledge of Aristotle and Lessing, and that the only door to the teaching of Milton lies through Quintilian and Longinus. The reply to this

is that we have not been considering what is generally possible or generally necessary, but how a finished literary critic ought to be educated and how the teaching of English Literature may be raised to the level of the teaching required in the Honour curricula of our Universities. There is surely no reason why a Diploma in Honours should not be as open to students of Literature as it is to students of History and Philosophy, and it is very certain that no man would be entitled to such a Diploma whose education had not taught him to approach Shakespeare through Aristotle.

But to return. I have said that in the study of particular books—which is often as far as "English Literature" is permitted to extend—attention was too often directed merely to language. The fault unhappily does not end here: attention is frequently directed to wholly unprofitable topics. I will illustrate what I mean by giving *in extenso* a typical Paper on *Macbeth*.

1. What reasons are there for believing that this play has been interpolated? Point out the parts probably interpolated.

2. What emendations have been proposed in the following passages?

(*a*) My way of life
Is fallen into the sere, the yellow leaf.

(*b*) As thick as tale
Came post with post.

(*c*) Vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps itself
And falls on the other.

(*d*) My title is appeased.

(And three others.)

3. By whom were the following spoken, and with what reference?

(*a*) To alter favour ever is to fear.

(*b*) Thou shalt not live,
That I may tell pale-hearted fear it lies.

(And four other passages.)

4. Explain and comment on the following passages :—

(Then follows a series of well-selected *cruces*.)

5. Give the meanings and derivations of the following words. In what context do they appear?

(Then come the words.)

6. Whence did Shakespeare derive the plot of *Macbeth*? Point out any deviations from recorded history in the play.

7. Illustrate from the play important points of difference between Elizabethan and modern grammar.

The first thing that strikes us in this paper is that the only faculty appealed to is memory. There is nothing which encourages reflection, nothing which can have the smallest effect on the education of taste, nothing which even indicates the existence of what constitutes the life and power of the work. Nor is this all. The first two questions are a direct encouragement to the acquisition of the sort of knowledge which is of all knowledge the most useless. When in the case of Shakespeare or any other poet there is

certain evidence of interpolation, it is not too much to expect of students that they should be able to point out where such interpolations occur; but when no such evidence exists, and all rests only on the assumptions of speculative criticism, the practice of requiring them to load their memories with such inanities cannot be too strongly condemned. In the case of *Macbeth* there is no evidence, there is not even suspicion of interpolation. The play appeared in the first folio edited by Shakespeare's literary executors, and was printed in all probability from the poet's own manuscript. There begins and there ends our knowledge of its text. To argue interpolations from supposed inequalities in the composition would be to argue interpolations in almost every drama and certainly in every epic in the world; and so it comes to pass that "interpl., sec. scene, first act; third scene, one to thirty-seven; third scene, sec. act, comm.; fifth scene, third act, hundred and thirty-five to hundred and thirty-three, dub.; eighth scene, fourth act, thirty-two and thirty-three; last scene, last act, traces other hand" is a mnemonic formula only too familiar to English youth.[1]

[1] Of the immense stupidity of which these interpolation theorists are capable it may be well to give one or two instances. They tell us that the Porter's speech, act ii. sc. 3, is interpolated. Now it requires very little critical sagacity to see that that scene is not merely exquisitely appropriate

Equally futile and equally misleading is the practice of encouraging the getting by heart of conjectural

but absolutely necessary. First, it bridges over the interval between the intense excitement attendant on the committal of the murder and the intense excitement which will be attendant on its discovery, an interval which could not with propriety have been bridged over in any other way; it thus serves partly to calm the passions after the appalling climax in the preceding scene and partly to prepare them by a lull of repose for another climactic appeal—the succeeding horror of Macduff's announcement. Secondly, its harsh and grotesque realism suddenly striking on us has, like "the knocking," an effect so weird that comedy, if it relaxes, never for a moment breaks the spell of tragedy, never for a moment unharmonises the emotions. Thirdly, it is exactly in Shakespeare's manner—just such a scene interposes between climax and climax in *Antony and Cleopatra*, act v. sc. 2; in *Hamlet*, act v. sc. 1, &c. &c. Fourthly, it has all the characteristics of Shakespearian low comedy. Even more ridiculous is the theory which suspects interpolation in the opening scene and asserts interpolation in the witch-scene (act i. sc. 3). The problem in *Macbeth* is, as everyone knows, how far he is to be regarded as a responsible agent, and how far as the thrall of supernatural powers. But Shakespeare, in accordance with his usual custom, furnishes us with the key to the position, and that key is found in the appearance of the witches in the opening scene and in their subsequent appearance at each crisis in Macbeth's decline. Remove any of the witch-scenes and the key is lost. Again, the second scene of the first act, another "interpolation," is, as a child might see, obviously introduced to emphasise Macbeth's bravery, and carries Shakespeare's stamp in every line and in every cadence. See Clarendon Press *Macbeth*.

emendations which are mere impertinences. What is required, for example, in the (*a*) section of question two is Johnson's wholly unnecessary conjecture "May"; what is required in (*b*) is Rowe's flat and contemptible correction "hail"; and what is required in (*c*) is the reproduction of the nonsense of Mason, Bailey, and Singleton. If teachers and those who write books for the instruction of teachers could only be brought to feel that the text of a great poet should be as sacred as his memory, education would greatly gain. But to continue. The third question, intended no doubt to secure original acquaintance with the play, is either wholly superfluous—for much more effective tests could easily have been applied—or places a premium on the exercise of the least intelligent faculty of the mind—local memory. To questions four and five—if we except at least the condition with which the fifth is saddled—no objections could of course be made. The attainment of such information as they are designed to secure is obviously as essential as it is important. With regard to the sixth, it is chiefly to be regretted that it is the only question of its kind, and with regard to the seventh that it did not supply the deficiency.

It is clear, then, that the study of a play of Shakespeare—and what applies to a play of Shakespeare applies obviously to any other work in poetry—which

runs on the lines indicated in these questions would serve only to attain one of the ends at which the interpretation of literature should aim. It would secure an exact knowledge of the history and meaning of words; it would secure a clear understanding of all that pertains in mechanism of expression to grammar and syntax, and of all that pertains in the accidents of expression to local and particular allusions. But it would go no further. The questions which ought to form an essential part of every examination not merely elementary in which a play of Shakespeare is offered are questions requiring an intelligent study of its general structure, of the evolution of its plot, of its style and diction (not simply in their relation to grammar but in their relation to rhetoric), of its ethics, of its metaphysics, of its characters, of the influences, precedent and contemporary, which importantly affected it. It would be quite as easy to substitute for such questions as I have transcribed some such questions as these :—

1. Through what phases did the style of Shakespeare pass? Analyse the characteristics of each phase in its development. Discuss his general claim to be called "a consummate master of expression," and compare his style generally with the style of Milton.

2. Is Macbeth to be regarded as a responsible agent? If so, how does the drama illustrate Shakespeare's ethics? If not, what light does it throw on Shakespeare's theology?

3. Analyse and contrast the characters of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth.

4. Show the propriety from a dramatic point of view of (*a*) the Porter's speech, and (*b*) Macbeth's soliloquy in the dagger scene, and point out in the play what strike you as being particularly subtle dramatic touches. Explain your reasons for thinking them so.

Or suppose we make the questions assume the form which they should assume in a comparative study of Classical and Modern Literature.

1. Show in what way and through what media Attic Tragedy determined the form of our Romantic Tragedy, and show by a comparative review of the *Persæ* and *Henry V.*, and of the *Agamemnon* and *Macbeth*, how much Attic and Shakesperian drama have in common.

2. Compare Shakespeare and Sophocles (*a*) as dramatic artists, (*b*) as critics of life. Discuss particularly their use of irony.

3. Point out how far the typical tragedies of Shakespeare illustrate Aristotle's analysis of the structure, characterization, and functions of Tragedy. In what respects has Shakespeare violated Aristotle's canons?

4. Matthew Arnold has described Milton as our greatest master in the "grand style." What according to Longinus are the five characteristics of that style? Illustrate all of them from Milton.

5. What according to Longinus are the characteristic vices of style in decadent epochs of literature. Account for them and illustrate them from Greek, Roman, Italian, and English literature.

6. How far and in what way do the dramas of Æschylus,

Sophocles and Shakespeare directly reflect contemporary history? What traces do we find in them of political bias?

7. Compare the world of the *Canterbury Tales* with the world of the *Odyssey*.

8. In what respects are Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, Browning's *Balaustion's Adventure*, and Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon* un-Greek?

I am not proposing these questions as models; I am merely showing the necessity of directing attention to such points as they indicate, if the study of Shakespeare, of any other master-poet, or of Literature generally is to be of profit in public or in academic education. There is, moreover, no lack of excellent guides. We have, with the exception of a general history of our own Literature, the complete apparatus for a course of *Literæ Humaniores* on lines like these. For purposes of less advanced and more popular teaching we are equally well provided. We have the Lectures of Coleridge, the Commentaries of Gervinus and Ulrici, Kreyssig's *Vorlesungen über Shakespeare*, Professor Dowden's suggestive little volume, and innumerable other works. And it would, I submit, be well if, in every examination where the Clarendon Press edition of a play of Shakespeare is prescribed as a text-book, it should be prescribed only under the condition that its introductions and notes were supplemented by reference to these and similar works. It is, indeed, only one of the many proofs of

the anarchy which exists in the English department of education, that the same Press—a Press which virtually directs the study of our national literature in almost every School in the kingdom—should be simultaneously issuing editions of English poets edited on such principles as *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* are edited, and editions of English poets edited as Mark Pattison has edited the *Essay on Man* and the *Satires* of Pope.

But, it may be said, though criticism in its application to solid subjects, like a drama of Shakespeare or the *Satires* of Pope, is, in teaching, practicable enough, it becomes in its application to less tangible subjects —to lyric poetry, for example—eminently impracticable. What end could be served by dissecting *Christabel* or by proceeding categorically through the merits and defects of *Epipsychidion* and the *Eve of Saint Agnes*? No one would deny that the spectacle of a lecturer with *Tears, Idle Tears,* or *Mariana in the Moated Grange* in his hand "proceeding to show" what is graceful, what is fanciful, what is pathetic, would be sufficiently ludicrous and repulsive. But the soundness of a principle is not affected by the possibility of reducing it to an absurdity. It still remains that of all the functions of the literary teacher none is more important than the function that lends itself thus easily to ridicule. And what is

that function? It is the interpretation of power and beauty as they reveal themselves in language, not simply by resolving them into their constituent elements, but by considering them in their relation to principles. While an incompetent teacher traces no connection between phenomena and laws, and confounds accidents with essences, blundering among "categorical enumerations" and vague generalities, he who knows will show us how to discern harmony in apparent discord, and discord in apparent harmony. In the gigantic proportions of *Paradise Lost* he will reveal to us a symmetry as perfect as in the most finished of Horace's Odes. He will expose flaws, interstices, and incongruity where, as in the *Essay on Man*, all is to the unskilled eye consistency and unity. He will teach us to hear in the choked and turbid rush of Shakespeare's ruggedest utterances a truer and subtler music than in the most mellifluous cadences of Pope.

Nor will he confine himself to interpreting what is excellent and what is vicious in form and style. Rightly distinguishing between the criticism which should be simply suggestive and the criticism which should be directly didactic, he will abstain from impertinent prattle about the effects produced by poetry, to show how far in each case the effects produced might with a larger insight and a fuller understanding have

been heightened and intensified, or how, on the other hand, such effects ought not, and in the case of a critic whose ethic and æsthetic education had been sound, could not have been produced at all. He will teach us to see in all poetry, not purely lyrical or simply fanciful, a criticism of life, sound or unsound, adequate or defective. And if in dealing with such luminaries as Chaucer and Spenser, as Shakespeare, Milton, and Wordsworth, he will be most solicitous to confine himself to reverent exposition, in dealing with the lesser lights, with our Drydens and our Popes, with our Byrons and our Shelleys, he will have another task. He will have to show how, in various degrees, defects of temper, the accidents of life, historical and social surroundings, and the like have obscured or distorted that vision which penetrates through the local and particular to the essential and universal. He will not, for example, allow the brilliant rhetoric and sound sense of Pope to blind us to the worthlessness of his metaphysics or to the insufficiency of his views on the subject of man's relation to spiritual truth; nor will he allow the marvellous music and imaginative splendour of the *Revolt of Islam* and the *Prometheus Unbound* to veil from us the folly and insanity of much of their ethic and politic.

Thus systematized and extended the study of English Literature would become on the one side—on the side

of its history—as susceptible of serious, methodical, and profitable treatment as History itself; and on the other side—on the side of criticism—it would become a still more important instrument of discipline, for it would correspond as nearly as possible to the *Mousikè* of the Greeks, and supply the one great deficiency in our system and theory of secondary education. In a country like ours, where the current will always run in a scientific and positive direction, nothing is so much to be regretted as the almost entire absence of any systematic provision for "musical" culture. At the Universities the want is nominally, at least, supplied by the study of Classical Literature, but throughout the country our own Literature must necessarily be the chief medium for disseminating that culture, if it is to be disseminated at all. Whether English Literature is to fulfil this function or not depends obviously on the training of its teachers, and the training of its teachers depends as obviously on the willingness or the unwillingness, the competency or incompetency of the Universities to provide that training. How far that training is likely to be provided by such institutions as the Mediæval and Modern Languages Tripos at Cambridge, by the establishment of Schools in which the leading and master Classics of the world have no place at all, in which Literature on the side of art, history, and æsthetic is wholly ignored, and in

which the study of our own Classics is saddled and incumbered by a lumbering and repulsive apparatus of Gothic, Mœso-Gothic, Icelandic, and Old Saxon, may safely be left to the judgment of common sense.

CHAPTER IV

ENGLISH LITERATURE AS A SUBJECT OF ACADEMIC TEACHING. DISTINCTION BETWEEN LITERATURE AND PHILOLOGY

THE first fact which it may be well for the Universities to recognise, but which at present they do not seem to understand, is, that a Literature which is represented by such writers as Shakespeare and Milton, as Pope and Wordsworth, as Bacon and Hooker, as Gibbon and Burke, is a very serious thing, much too serious a thing to be abandoned either to unskilled teachers or to philologists, that it is a Literature not inferior in intrinsic merit to the Literatures of the ancient world, that it is therefore, from an historical point of view, worthy of minute, of patient, of systematic study, and that, regarded as an instrument of culture, it is—if studied in a liberal spirit—of the utmost importance and value. How greatly the interests of education have suffered and will continue

to suffer unless the Universities consent to take this matter seriously into consideration is easily illustrated. Of all the evils to which the conduct of culture on the side of letters is exposed, the worst and most mischievous are pedantry on the one side and dilettantism on the other. And to say that the Universities are by the publications to which they allow their imprimatur to be affixed encouraging and extending both these evils is to say what is matter of common notoriety. I am very far from wishing to speak disrespectfully of the Clarendon Press publications, for they are as a rule, so far as they go, solid and thorough, the work, commonly, of accurate and painstaking scholars. But their radical defect lies in the fact that they do not sufficiently distinguish between Philology and Literature. Instead of regarding a great poem or a great drama as the expression of genius and art, they regard it merely as a monument of language. They dwell with tedious and unnecessary minuteness on points which can interest none but grammarians and philologists, and out of this narrow sphere they seldom or never travel unless perhaps to explain some historical allusion, to discuss some problem in antiquities, or to accumulate wholly superfluous parallel passages. In the Clarendon Press edition of Shakespeare, for example, nothing is so common as to find whole pages of notes, of which

this may serve as a specimen, and as a specimen I transcribe it at length:—

Gasted, frightened. Steevens quotes from Beaumont and Fletcher, *Wit at Several Weapons*, II. 3, but the word there in the original copies is "gaster'd": "Either the sight of the lady had gaster'd him, or else he's drunk!" This is still an Essex word. Gast as a participle occurs in *Cursor Mundi* (MS. Trinity College, Cambridge, fol. 31, quoted in Halliwell's *Dictionary*, p. 291), Early English Text Soc., Ed. Morris: "His will was but to make him gast." The other three printed texts of the poem have "agast," "agaste," and "a-gast." Shakespeare uses "gastness" in the sense of terror stricken look, in *Othello*, V. I., 106: "Do you perceive the gastness of her eye?" and Spenser has "gastful" in the sense of "awful" in *Shepherd's Calendar*, August, 170:

> "Here will I dwell apart
> In gastful grove therefore."

Both these last-mentioned words appear to have been used as if they were etymologically connected with "ghost." For this derivation there is no foundation. Cotgrave (*Fr. Dict.*) gives "espoventable": com. Dreadfull, frightfull, feareful; horrible, gastfull, horride. The term "gasted" is found in Harsnet's *Declaration of Popish Imposture* (1603), p. 73. "Did euer the God-gastring giants whom *Jupiter* overwhelmed with *Pelion* and *Ossa* so complaine of thyr loade?" Mr. Street has pointed out to me an excellent example of "gast' in *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, Text A., Passus VII. l. 129:

> "Bope to sowen and to setten and sauen his tilpe
> Gaste Crowen from his Corn and kepen his Beestes."

In their edition of Milton it is equally common to find a quarter of a page of notes like these :—

l. 619. Cp. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xi. 419 ; *Faery Queen*, I. xi. 4.

l. 624. Cp. Ovid *Metamorphoses*, ix. 6.

l. 630. Cp. Horace, "*Odes*," III. 2, 17.

l. 633. Cp. *Paradise Lost*, II. 692 ; v. 710 ; vi. 156. Rev. xii. 4.

l. 642. *tempted our attempt.* Keightley claims to have been the first to point out that these plays upon words are imitations of the Paronomasia in Scripture, Cp. v. 869 ; ix. 11, xii. 78.

l. 659. *Iliad*, I. 140.

l. 660. *peace is despair'd*, a Latinism. So 'despair thy charm (*Macbeth*, v. 7).

No one could say of the author of notes like these that he displays either want of industry or want of learning, but such notes are, from an educational point of view, all but useless ; they are even worse—they render what should be an agreeable and profitable study, simply repulsive. They serve no rational end ; they satisfy no rational need. They err not indeed on the side of superficiality and dishonesty, but on the side of too narrow a conception of the scope and method of interpreting literature : they err, in short, as Pope taunted Kuster and Burman with erring :

> "The critic eye, that microscope of wit,
> Sees hairs and pores, examines bit by bit ;"

but fails to see

> "How parts relate to parts, or they to whole,
> The body's harmony, the beaming soul."

That pedantry is, when allied with learning, a far less evil than dilettantism, no one would dispute. Such a study of the English Classics as the editions to which I have referred prescribe and direct, is not indeed calculated to enlarge a youth's mind, or to refine his taste; it is still less calculated to awaken rational curiosity or to inspire a love of literature for its own sake; but regarded as a mode of discipline it may possibly in some cases be of service in forming and confirming habits of accuracy, and, within certain limits, habits of thoroughness, and in training and strengthening the memory. But this cannot be pleaded in favour of dilettantism, which from an educational point of view is an evil without alloy. It is to real learning precisely what the phantom sent by Juno to deceive Turnus was to the real Æneas. It assumes its form, it brandishes what seems to be its weapons, it mimics its gait, it simulates its speech, but it is a mockery and a fraud. It serves only to delude and mislead. Nor is this all. It is not simply an intellectual but a moral evil. It encourages those lazy and desultory habits into which young students are especially prone to fall. It renders them indifferent to the distinction between

accuracy and inaccuracy, between truth and falsehood. It emasculates, it corrupts, it strikes at the very root of that conscientiousness and honesty, that absolute sincerity, which is, or ought to be, the first article in the creed of every teacher, and of every scholar.

I am saying nothing more than what is acknowledged at the Universities themselves when I say that, in the department of English Literature, the directors of their Presses are authorizing works to circulate with the *imprimatur* of the University, the flimsiness and shallowness of which are only exceeded by the incredible blunders with which they absolutely swarm.[1]

Nor will these evils, pedantry and dilettantism cease to be epidemic till Oxford and Cambridge awake to the necessity of raising the study of our national Literature to its proper level in education. But before that can be done they must, as a preliminary, recognise the distinction between Philology and Literature, between the significance of the *Literæ Humaniores*, as interpreted by verbal critics, and their significance as interpreted by such critics as Lessing and Coleridge.

[1] When it is remembered that these works, circulating as they do upon the authority of the Universities, become text-books not only in our own Schools, Colleges, and Institutes, but in those of the Colonies also, all over the English-speaking world in fact, it is really difficult to express oneself on such a subject with patience.

They must in classical study attach more importance to the spirit and less to the letter. They must, in their exegesis, cease to dwell solely on what is accidental, and see the necessity for penetrating to the essence which is the life. Philological criticism is to criticism, in the proper sense of the term, what anatomy is to psychology. Each has its importance; each is, in a manner, related, and each should be studied; but who but a fool would dream of confounding them? The scalpel, which lays bare every nerve and every artery in the mechanism of the body, reveals nothing further. The *Agamemnon* and *Macbeth* are as little likely to yield up the secret of their life to the verbal scholar.

If the study of English Literature is, as a branch of academic study, to be adequately provided for, it must be properly organized, and it cannot be properly organized if it be treated independently. On critical and on historical grounds alike it must be studied in close connection with those Literatures with which it is indissolubly linked, with the Literatures of Greece and Rome, of Italy and France. What European History is to the study of English History from the accession of Henry the Eighth, the four Literatures referred to are to the study of English Literature from the appearance of Spenser. A curriculum of History, in which our own History should be

treated without reference to its connection with France and Italy, with Spain, and the Empire, would not, in truth, be a greater absurdity than a curriculum of Literature in which our own Literature should be treated without reference to those of Greece and Rome, to those of Italy and France. What is needed is the establishment of a School of *Literæ Humaniores* in the strict and proper sense of the term, the organization of a curriculum, the central subject of which may with propriety be our own Literature, but which would, as such a course would naturally do, include the ancient Classics and the Classics of Modern Europe. That the Literature of Germany would occupy an important place in a curriculum like this is obvious; but, considering the very slight influence which, until quite recently, it has exercised on the development and peculiarities of our own, it need not, as the others should, be made compulsory in the case of a candidate for Honours in English.

A School established on lines like these would supply the one great want in our system of advanced education. It would at once place the study of the Greek and Roman Classics on the only footing on which in these times it is possible to justify it, and it would at the same time raise the study of English Literature to its proper level in education. That the Universities should undertake to provide lecturers and teachers in

English Literature, as they are providing them in all directions, not in England only, but in the Colonies, and yet decline to afford them any other systematic instruction than philological instruction, is surely an anomaly that needs correction. But that they should be undertaking the serious responsibility of providing our Schools and Colleges with text-books on this subject, and with such text-books as I have described, is, to speak plainly, scandalous.

But no curriculum in *Literæ Humaniores* can ever be practicable till Philology be relegated to its proper sphere, till it be assumed that Latin Literature commences with Ennius, French with the latest text of the *Chanson de Roland*, and English with Chaucer. No man with any pretension to intelligence would underrate the importance of Philology. In its highest departments it is a branch of learning of immense interest and value, and it is justly entitled to a place in the front rank of sciences. In its humbler departments it is an instrument without which the literary student would be helpless. But it must not be confounded with what in its higher departments it has little or no concern, and with what in its lower departments it serves only to assist. It must not be confounded with Literature. Up to the present time it has, in consequence of that confusion, been allowed to fill a place in education

altogether disproportionate to its insignificance as an instrument of culture. As an instrument of culture it ranks—it surely ranks—very low indeed. It certainly contributes nothing to the cultivation of the taste. It as certainly contributes nothing to the education of the emotions. The mind it neither enlarges, stimulates, nor refines. On the contrary, it too often induces or confirms that peculiar woodenness and opacity, that singular coarseness of feeling and purblindness of moral and intellectual vision, which has in all ages been characteristic of mere philologists, and of which we have appalling illustrations in such a work as Bentley's *Milton*.[1] Nor is this all. Instead

[1] A curious and amusing illustration of the truth of these remarks will be found in a little pamphlet entitled *The Study of Modern European Languages and Literatures in the University of Oxford*. The writer of this pamphlet, who is one of the protagonists of the philological party at Oxford, after denouncing a proposal to associate the study of ancient and modern Literature as a proposal to "legalize superficiality," and to "establish and endow the worship of the god of shoddy," proceeds to take up the cudgels for Bentley. Seeing nothing ridiculous in the portentous stupidity of Bentley's notes and emendations on Milton, he thinks them indefensible, not because of their "woodenness and opacity," but simply because a settled text made them superfluous. "Bentley's *Milton*," he says, "was no doubt a great blunder, but why? Because Bentley made the mistake of treating a modern writer, whose text was well ascertained, in the same way as some ancient authors, whose texts are corrupt." See

of encouraging communion with the nobler manifestations of human energy, with the great deeds of history, or with the masterpieces of art and letters, it tends, as Bacon remarks, to create habits of unintelligent curiosity about trifles.[1] It too often resembles that rustic who, after listening for several hours to Cicero's most brilliant conversation, noticed nothing and remembered nothing but the wart on the great orator's nose. It is the privilege of Art and Letters to bring us into contact with the aristocrats of our race. It is the misfortune of Philology that, in its lower walks at least, it necessitates familiarity with a class of writers who probably rank lowest in the scale of human intelligence. The proper place of Philology in its higher phases, and of Philology in its higher phases I have not been speaking, is with the sciences. So far as it is related to Literature, it is related merely as grammar, it is related as the drudge is related to his master, as the key of the jewel-casket is related to the treasures it unlocks.

for this and more the *Academy* for December 17th, 1887, pp. 407–408.

[1] Nothing could better describe the educational effects of these studies than the words of Quintilian. "Nudæ illæ artes nimiâ subtilitatis affectatione frangunt atque concidunt quidquid est in oratione generosius, et omnem succum ingenii bibunt, et ossa detegunt, quæ, ut esse, et astringi

Nor will the absurdity of forcing Philology into undue prominence in the sort of education we are considering be less apparent, if we regard it from another point of view. Those who can appreciate it as a science, and who are likely to be interested in what it teaches, are and always will be in a very small minority. And to how few even of this small minority, unless indeed they become philological teachers or specialists, will it ever be of much practical use, either directly in informing, or indirectly in educating. Those, on the contrary, who appreciate Literature as distinguished from Philology, will in point of numbers quadruple, and more than quadruple, the former class. And two things are certain. Whatever may be the future calling of these students, the positive knowledge they will have attained will, unlike a knowledge of Philology, be of immense and immediate service to them; the liberal training to which, in the course of acquiring that knowledge, they have been submitted, will, unlike the narrow and narrowing discipline of mere philological culture, send them forth with enlarged minds, with awakened literary sympathies, and with cultivated tastes. Can there be any question then about the relative claims of Literature and Philology to precedence?

nervis suis debent, sic corpore operienda sunt."—*Prœm. ad lib. I.*

ence in the economy, I do not say of special, for of that we are not now speaking, but of general education?

The truth is, that these two classes of students, separated by differences of temper, by differences of genius, by differences of taste, should be provided for separately. The inevitable result of forcing Philology into prominence in a school of Literature will be to defeat the purposes of the School. It will be to sacrifice the education of that large majority, who are capable of benefiting from literary studies, and are not capable of benefiting from scientific studies, to the education of a small minority. It will be an attempt to amalgamate elements which always have met and always will meet in oppugnancy. The instincts and faculties which separate the temperament of the mathematician from the temperament of the poet are not more radical and essential than the instincts and faculties which separate the sympathetic student of Philology from the sympathetic student of Polite Literature. And of all the sciences Philology is the most repugnant to men of artistic and literary tastes. It was the subject of the sarcasms of Milton and Dryden in the seventeenth century. It was an inexhaustible topic for the scorn and ridicule of the wits of the eighteenth century; and it has assuredly not met with much

sympathy from the most distinguished men of letters in the present century. Again, no one can doubt that it has been the predominance of the philological element in our classical curricula which has had the effect of inducing generation after generation of men, on whose writings the impress of classical culture is most unmistakably stamped, to turn with contempt from the Schools, and to take their education into their own hands. No one can doubt that it has been the predominance of that element, which has created so wide a gulf between the life that is stirring in our Universities and the system to which it is subject. I well remember how, when I once humorously suggested to the late Rector of Lincoln that the following lines from the *Dunc ad* should be inscribed in letters of gold over the doors of the Classical Schools, he replied with a smile, 'Substitute letters of lead, and you have my entire approval":—

"Since man from beasts by *Words* is known,
Words are man's province, *Words* we teach alone.
When Reason doubtful, like the Samian letter,
Points us two ways, the narrower is the better.
Plac'd at the door of Learning, youth to guide,
We never suffer it to stand too wide;
To ask, to guess, to know, as they commence,
As Fancy opens the quick springs of sense,
We ply the memory, we load the brain;
Bind rebel Wit, and double chain on chain;

Confine the thought, to exercise the breath,
And keep them in the pale of *Words* till death.
Whate'er the talents, or howe'er design'd,
We hang one jingling padlock on the mind."[1]

I contend, then, that in the interests of Literature there can be no compromise with Philology, and that in the interests of Philology there can be no compromise with Literature. The place of the one is with the Humanities, the place of the other is with the Sciences.

[1] It is a proof of what some writers are, at a pinch in controversy, capable of descending to, that the author of the pamphlet on the *Study of Modern European Languages and Literature at Oxford* has the assurance to insinuate that Mark Pattison's well-known articles on Scaliger, Casaubon, &c., were written to support the position of the philological party. See that pamphlet, p. 13, and the *Academy* for December 17th, 1887.

CHAPTER V

NECESSITY FOR ASSOCIATING THE STUDY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE WITH THAT OF ANCIENT CLASSICAL LITERATURE

"THE idea that English literature rests upon a classical basis has been formulated, and industriously circulated as the watchword of a pedantic faction, and hardly any organ of current literature has proved itself strong enough or vigilant enough to secure itself against the insidious entrance of the above indoctrination." So writes Professor Earle in his *History of English Prose*, p. 485.

In the debate in Congregation on the question of establishing a School of Literature at Oxford, reported in the *Times* for May 26th, 1887, we find this recorded :—

"The proposal to add the Professors of Greek and Latin to the Board of Studies was rejected by 38 votes to 24, Professor Earle maintaining that the fallacious notion that English

literature was derived from the classics was so strong that it was unwise to place even the Professor of Latin on the Board."

Now the whole history of our early Literature is little less than the history of the modification of Teutonic and Celtic elements by classical influence, as the history of the later development of that Literature is the history of the alternate predominance of Classicism and Romanticism. The poetry of Chaucer sprang directly from poetry, the characteristics of which, if not derived directly from classical sources, are not historically intelligible without reference to the later developments of Classical Literature. Boccaccio, the authors of the *Roman de la Rose*, Machault, Granson, Froissart, were the fathers of Chaucer. Ovid, Claudian, Ausonius, Boethius, and the poets and writers of the transition contributed important elements to the work of these men and to the work of their continental disciples. Nay, to go even further back, and to refute Professor Earle by an appeal to his own statement, "the Anglo-Saxon literature" itself "was nursed by, and gradually rose out of, Latin culture, and this is true not only of those portions which were translated or otherwise borrowed from the Latin, but also in some degree even of poetry and laws" (*Anglo-Saxon Literature*, p. 1). Again, "just as Latin classical literature

was stimulated by Greek, so also was Anglo-Saxon literature assisted by the influence of Latin. And as the classical student seeks to distinguish that which is native from that which is foreign in Latin authors, so also is the same distinction of essential importance in the study of Anglo-Saxon literature" (*Id.*, p. 4). No historical treatment therefore even of Anglo-Saxon Literature can, by Professor Earle's own admission, be adequate without treating it in connection with Classical Literature; and yet in legislating for a school of English Literature he has no scruple in supporting a motion to exclude the Professor of Latin from the Board of Studies on the ground of the "fallacious notion that English literature was derived from the classics." But to continue. It was the Roman Drama slightly modified by the Italian playwrights of the Renaissance which determined the form of our Romantic Drama. That great movement found our Drama in pretty much the same condition as the Roman Drama appears to have been when represented only by the Etruscan *Ludi Scenici* and the *Fabulæ Atellanæ*. It was the influence of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Menander, Diphilus which transformed these rude experiments into the tragedies of Ennius and Pacuvius, and the comedies of Plautus and Terence. It was the influence of the Attic Drama operating through Italian media which,

so far as form is concerned, transformed our similarly rude native experiments into the noblest dramatic Literature in the world. On the Epics of Greece and Rome are modelled our own great Epics. Almost all our Didactic Poetry is modelled on the Didactic Poetry of Rome, sometimes directly, as in the *Essay on Translated Verse*, the *Essay on Poetry*, the *Essay on Criticism*, *Cider*, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, *The Art of Preserving Health*, and the innumerable poems of which these in their turn became the patterns; sometimes indirectly, as in such poems as Daniel's *Musophilus* and *Philocosmus*, as Davies' *Nosce Teipsum*, as Fulke Greville's *Treatises;* nay, it may be questioned whether without the *De Rerum Naturâ* we should have had, in the form in which it now stands, the *Excursion*. One important branch of our Lyric Poetry springs directly from Pindar; another important branch directly from Horace; another again directly from the choral odes of the Attic dramatists and Seneca. Our Heroic Satire from Hall to Dryden, from Dryden to Pope, and from Pope to Gifford and Byron is simply the counterpart, often, indeed, a mere imitation, of Roman Satire. The noblest moral poem in our language owes to Juvenal its suggestion, its inspiration, its method, and its style. Again, the Epistles which fill so large a space in the poetical literature of the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries derived their origin from Horace. From the *Epistles* of Horace too directly flow the *Religio Laici*, the *Essay on Man*, the *Moral Essays*, and the poems which are in the estimation of Ste-Beuve the most charming and the most precious of Cowper's contributions to our poetry. To the *Heroides* of Ovid we owe a whole series of important poems. From them Chaucer borrowed much of the material for the most delightful of his minor works; on them Drayton modelled his *Heroical Epistles*, and Pope his *Eloisa to Abelard*. The tone, the style, the method of such narratives as Drayton's *Barons' Wars*, as Beaumont's *Bosworth Field*, as Dryden's *Annus Miralilis*, as Addison's *Campaign*, themselves the subjects of numberless imitations, are derived unmistakably from the Roman Epics, and particularly from the *Pharsalia*. Martial and the Anthology have furnished the archetypes of our best Epigrams and our best Epitaphs, and Theocritus and Virgil the archetypes for our Eclogues and our Pastorals. Backward to the *Æglogues* of Barclay in the early part of the sixteenth century, forward to the English *Idylls* of Lord Tennyson in the present, at whatever period in its history, from whatever point of view we contemplate this important branch of our poetry, we must contemplate it with reference to its source in Sicily and

Italy. If Petrarch and Mantuan affected it at one moment, if Sannazaro and Clement Marot affected it at another, what are Petrarch and Mantuan, Sannazaro and Marot, but the disciples of Virgil, or the disciples of his disciples Claudian, Ausonius, and Calpurnius Siculus? If the native genius of the Celt or the Teuton, a Robert Henryson or an Allan Ramsay, diverted it for a moment from its original source, back to that source we find it returning as it has returned in the English *Idylls* of Tennyson. On the Descriptive Poetry of the Elizabethan Age and of the eighteenth century, on such works, for example, as Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, as Pope's *Windsor Forest*, as Gay's *Rural Sports*, and even Thomson's *Seasons*, the influence of the Latin poets is both directly and indirectly immense. Of our Elegiac Poetry, to employ the term in its conventional sense, one portion, such poems for example as *The Lament for Dido*, as *Lycidas*, as *Adonais*, is largely indebted to Theocritus, Moschus, and Virgil, and another portion, far too extensive to specify, is still more largely indebted to Catullus and Ovid, to Tibullus and Propertius. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say, that if the influence individually exercised by each of the Greek and Latin poets, I do not say of the first merely but of the second order, on our own poets were fully

traced, each would afford ample matter for a bulky treatise.

But if this is the case with our Poetry, how much more is it the case with our Prose. No one can deny the charm, the sweetness, the simplicity, the grace of such prose as Maundeville's, as Malory's, as Bunyan's; and that our language would, had it pursued its course unmodified by Classical influence, have been fully equal to the production of such prose is all but certain. But Maundeville, Malory and Bunyan are not the names which rise to our lips when we speak of the masters of prose expression. The history of English eloquence commences from the moment when the Roman Classics moulded and coloured our style—when periodic prose modelled itself on Cicero and Livy, when analytic prose modelled itself on Sallust and Tacitus. From Wyatt to Hooker, from Hooker to Milton, from Milton to Bolingbroke, and from Bolingbroke to Burke, Johnson, and Gibbon, this has been the case. The structure of their periods—allowing, of course, for differences of idiom—the evolution of their periods, their rhythm, their colouring, their tone are, when they rise to eloquence, precisely those of rhetorical Roman prose. It is commonly supposed that when, during the latter half of the seventeenth century, the long sentence began to be broken up, and the style

which Addison and his school subsequently perfected became fashionable, the change is to be attributed to the influence of French writers. This is no doubt partly true, but it is true only in the sense that the influence of French aided a transformation which is perfectly explicable without reference to France. The style of Hobbes, Sprat, and Cowley, the style subsequently of Dryden and Temple, is in truth as Latin as that of Hooker and Milton; but with a difference, and that difference is easily explained. Instead of going to the diction of Livy and to the rhetorical works of Cicero for their models, they went to Quintilian, to the Younger Pliny, and to Cicero's colloquial and epistolary writings. And what is true of them is true of Addison. The serious style of Addison is modelled, as close as any style could be, on that of the *De Senectute* and the *De Amicitiâ*.[1]

[1] This is an interesting question, and, as my assertion may appear paradoxical, I will place side by side what will be allowed to be a typical sample of Cicero's literary style, and what will be allowed to be a typical sample of Addison's style. And the truth of what I have asserted will, I think, be at once apparent.

"Equidem non video cur quid ipse sentiam de morte non audeam vobis dicere; quod eo melius mihi cernere videor quo ab eâ propius absum. Ego vestros patres, P. Scipio, tuque, C. Læli, viros clarissimos mihique amicissimos vivere arbitror, et eam quidem vitam, quæ est sola vita nominanda. Nam

It was the influence partly of Machiavelli and Guicciardini, but it was the influence mainly of Thucydides and Sallust, of Livy and Tacitus, which revolutionized our historical composition, which gave us Bacon for Capgrave, and Knolles and Herbert for Fabyan, and which was to determine the form, tone,

dum sumus in his inclusi compagibus corporis munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur. Est enim animus cœlestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinæ naturæ æternitatique contrarium. Sed credo Deos immortales sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique cœlestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitæ modo atque constantiâ. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio impulit ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritas."—*De Senectute*, xxi.

"I know but one way of fortifying myself against these gloomy presages and terrors of mind, and that is by securing to myself the friendship and protection of that Being who is the disposer of events and governs futurity. He sees at one view the whole thread of my existence, not only that part which I have already passed through, but that which runs forward into all the depths of eternity. When I lay me down to sleep, I recommend myself to His care; when I awake, I give myself up to His direction. Amidst all the evils which surround me, I will look up to Him for help, and question not that He will either avert them or turn them to my advantage. Though I know neither the time nor the manner of the death I am to die, I am not at all solicitous about it, because I am sure that He knows them both, and that He will not fail to comfort and support me under them."—*Spectator*, No. 7.

and style of the great work of Clarendon in the seventeenth century; of the great works of Robertson, Hume, and Gibbon in the eighteenth century; of the great work of Macaulay in the nineteenth century. It was on the Orations of Cicero that Wyatt modelled the speech which is the earliest example in our language of rhetorical eloquence; and from that day to this the speeches to which, if we wished to vindicate our fame in oratory, we should point, are the speeches which have followed most closely the same noble models. No names stand so high on the roll of our Parliamentary orators as the names of Bolingbroke, Pulteney, Chesterfield, the two Pitts, Burke, and Fox; and no names stand higher on the roll of forensic orators than those of Somers, Mansfield, and Erskine. It is notorious that they all gloried in their familiarity with the ancient masterpieces—the masterpieces of Demosthenes and Cicero—and have all left testimony of their indebtedness to them. And what has moulded our secular oratory has moulded our sacred oratory. On no part of our prose literature can we look with greater pride than on the Sermons of our classical divines; and assuredly no part of our Literature owes more to the influence of Greece and Rome. The dawn of the Renaissance found our pulpit oratory represented by a few rude and jejeune

homilies, scarcely rising above the level of the *Sawles Warde*, or the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*; its close left us enriched with the sermons of Hall and Donne, of Taylor and South, of Barrow and Tillotson. If this marvellous transformation is to be explained partly by the progress which secular literature had made, and partly by the influence of the writings of the Fathers, it is to be explained mainly by the influence—the direct influence—of these writings to which the Fathers themselves were so immensely indebted. Hall and Donne, for example, are in style and diction close imitators of Seneca; and to Seneca, as the author of the *Consolatio ad Marciam* and the *Consolatio ad Helviam*, belongs, it may be added, the honour of having furnished models for the *Oraisons Funèbres* of the French and for what corresponds to the *Oraisons Funèbres* in our own literature from Fisher's Funeral Sermon on Margaret, Countess of Richmond, to Robert Hall's Sermon on the Death of the Princess Charlotte. From Plato Taylor learned the secret of his involved harmonies, and on Plato, Cicero, and Chrysostom he fashioned his diffuse and splendid eloquence. What South would have been apart from the influence of the ancient masters may be easily seen by comparing the passages in which he gives the rein to the coarse vigour of his native genius, and the passages on which his fame rests.

The inexhaustible fertility of Barrow's intellect is to be attributed as unmistakably to the assimilative thoroughness with which he had studied the Greek and Roman Classics, with whose ideas, sentiments, and expressions his pages teem, as the pregnant energy of his expression bears the impress of Thucydides and Aristotle. What style is more purely Ciceronian than the style of Tillotson, than the style of Sherlock, than the style of Middleton and Atterbury?

But no portion of our Literature is rooted more deeply in the Literature of antiquity than our Criticism. Till the end of the last century, it may be said with literal truth that from the publication of Wilson's *Art of Rhetoric*, in 1553, it would be difficult to mention a single theory on the principles of composition, a single important critical canon, with the exception of the doctrine of the Unities of Time and Place, which are not to be traced originally to the ancient critics. It is a great mistake to suppose, as it almost always is supposed, that we derived our principles of criticism from France. Our own criticism and French criticism sprang from a common source. It was derived directly from Aristotle and Longinus, from Cicero, from Horace, from Quintilian, and from the author of the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, all of whom had been studied in England long before they had been translated into

French. We have only to open the treatises of Wilson, Elyot, Ascham, Sydney, Webbe, Gascoigne, Puttenham, and others, in the reign of the Tudors, and such a work as Jonson's *Discoveries*, in the reign of James I., to see how closely the fathers of English criticism followed in the footsteps of the ancients. It was so with Hobbes, it was so with Cowley, it was so even with Dryden. That Dryden and his contemporaries read Aristotle in a French version, and with the light of French commentaries, is undoubtedly true. And it is true also that they were acquainted with contemporary French criticism. But Aristotle in a French dress is Aristotle still, and as contemporary French criticism was itself a tradition from Greece and Rome, we must not confound the influence of Rapin, Bossu, and Bouhours with the influence of those writings on which Rapin, Bossu, and Bouhours themselves drew so largely. For one reference in Dryden's Prefaces to a French critic, we find a dozen to an ancient. Longinus indeed owed his popularity to Boileau, but the *De Sublimitate* had been translated into our language long before Boileau's version had appeared, and had as early as the first quarter of the seventeenth century begun to affect critical opinion in England.

Between the death of Dryden and the death of Johnson our critical literature passed still more

completely under the yoke of the ancients. Every precept in the *Essay on Criticism* is drawn or deduced from the *Ars Poetica*, from the *Poetics* of Vida, itself an echo of the *Ars Poetica*, from the *Institutes of Oratory*, or from the *De Sublimitate*. The *Treatise on the Bathos* is a parody of the *Treatise on the Sublime*. The literary papers of Addison and of Addison's coadjutors follow implicitly the same guides. The literary essays of Hume betray in every page their indebtedness to the ancient critics, so also do the literary essays of Goldsmith. Horace and Quintilian furnish Johnson with his canons and his standards. No one can read the critiques in the *Lives of the Poets* without being struck with Johnson's immense indebtedness to the tenth book of *The Institutes of Oratory*. The terse and epigrammatic judgments, at once narrowly discriminating and superficially just, which Quintilian passes on the Greek and Roman authors are the exact counterparts, as well in spirit and sentiment as in expression, to Johnson's judgments on our own poets. If we pass from Johnson to Hurd, who was, of our own countrymen, incomparably the subtlest literary critic of the eighteenth century, and who, by his practice of habitually referring phenomena to principles, and of distinguishing between accidents and essence, may be regarded as

the forerunner of modern philosophical criticism, we simply pass from a student of Horace and Quintilian to a student of Aristotle and Longinus. With what care, with what sympathy, to what great advantage Hurd had studied the *Poetics*, the *Rhetoric*, and the *Treatise on the Sublime*, will be apparent to any one who will compare his *Notes on the Ars Poetica*, the earliest of his works, with his *Dissertations on the Idea of Universal Poetry*, on the *Provinces of the Drama*, and on *Poetical Imitation*, discourses which by no means deserve the oblivion into which they appear to have fallen. To the influence exercised by Greek criticism on Lessing[1] and Schlegel, and of the influence exercised by Lessing and Schlegel on Coleridge and on the disciples of Coleridge at the beginning of the present century, it is hardly necessary to advert.

Thus in tracing the development and in accounting for the characteristics of our Literature, both in poetry and in prose, we find ourselves at every turn, and at almost every step, in the presence of the Classics. It is therefore obvious—it ought indeed to be superfluous to assert—that the history of English Literature can never be studied properly unless it be studied in

[1] Lessing was not, I believe, known in England, or at all events he was not appreciated and influential, till after the appearance of Coleridge.

connection with the Literatures of Greece and Rome, and that to study it without reference to those Literatures is as absurd as it would be to study the history of Ethics and Metaphysics or the history of Sculpture and Architecture without reference to the ancient Schools. It is a favourite plea of the philologists that as Celtic and Teutonic elements enter so largely into the composition of the English temper and the English genius, it is from an historical point of view as necessary to take the Celtic and Teutonic Languages and Literatures into consideration as it is to take the Classical. This plausible sophistry is easily refuted. What have to be considered in legislation for education are, as Aristotle remarks, τό τε μέσον καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ πρέπον—moderation, possibility, and the becoming. It would be ridiculous to suppose that where a knowledge of Greek and Latin, of Italian and French and perhaps of German also would be required, as in the curriculum we are contemplating they would be, that a scientific knowledge of Celtic, of Anglo-Saxon, or of Icelandic could be added. And even if this were practicable, comparatively little would be gained. Nothing accomplished in these languages will throw light on the masterpieces of our Literature. Neither Cædmon's *Paraphrase* nor the *Taîn Bo* will help to explain the genesis of *Paradise Lost*, nor will the

Blickling Homilies or the Homilies of Ælfric illustrate the Sermons of Taylor and Barrow. "Anglo-Saxon literature," says Marsh in a sentence which those who attach so much preposterous importance to Anglo-Saxon would do well to remember, "so far from being the mother was not even the nurse of the infant genius which opened its eyes to the sun of England five centuries ago." [1]

But if in tracing the development and explaining the characteristics of our Literature it is necessary at every step to refer to the ancients, in studying the literature itself, in regarding it, that is to say, in its spiritual, its ethical, its æsthetic aspects, in considering its structure and its style, how greatly do we gain by comparing its masterpieces with the masterpieces of Greek and Rome. To go no further than the tragedies of Shakespeare, what could be more interesting, what more profitable, than to compare them with the tragedies of the Attic stage, to compare them for example with the tragedies of Sophocles; to note how the same truths, the same passions, the same sentiments, find utterance in both; to observe how similarly each deals with the great problem of destiny and free will, with the doctrine of the mean, with the doctrine of retribution, with the relation of the state to the individual, and of the individual to

[1] *Origin and History of the English Language*, p. 100.

the state; to mark how subtly in each the real and the ideal are blended; to compare their use of irony, to watch the same art, working in obedience to the same eternal and unchanging laws, directing them in the mechanism of their expression, and the same inspired wisdom guiding them in their interpretation of life? How much for instance would a comparative study of *Macbeth* and the *Agamemnon*, of *Henry V.* and the *Persæ* reveal? What better commentary is to be found on those marvellous fictions, which, in the phrase of their creator, hold the mirror up to nature, than the writings of one of the subtlest analysts of human nature who has ever lived, the author of the *Ethics* and of the third book of the *Rhetoric*? If the energy which is frittered away at Oxford and Cambridge in producing elaborate and exhaustive editions of works about which even intelligent Dryasdusts have ceased to be curious, were directed to tasks like these, how greatly would education gain. Illustrations for example of Shakespeare's plays by pertinent references to Aristotle's treatises would surely add to the interest and the value of both, for they would show with what exactness each of these students of human nature, though separated by nearly two thousand years and all the myriad diversities of moral and intellectual conditions which such separation implies, has arrived independently at the same

truths, and corroborates the other. I contend then that Aristotle contributes as importantly to the elucidation of Shakespeare, as Shakespeare contributes to the elucidation of Aristotle. That such poems as *Lycidas* and the *Progress of Poesy* have been the delight of thousands, and will continue to be the delight of thousands, who have never opened a Greek and Latin classic is no doubt true, but it would be absurd to contend that their pleasure would not be increased tenfold had they been scholars. It would be absurd to pretend that the full significance, the race, so to speak, and flavour of either the one poem or the other could be appreciated by them. A reader who knows nothing of Sophocles and Virgil may feel the charm of such a diction as the Laureate's—such a diction as the diction of *In Memoriam* or the diction of *The Princess*, but how much will he miss, how many of the

ὠκέα βέλη
φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν

must fall flat on him.

And one thing is certain—that any University which by Diploma authorizes teachers to interpret these works, without securing competent classical knowledge in those teachers, is authorizing a standard of instruction scandalously below the level which an academic standard should attain.

But apart from particular reasons for associating the study of English Literature with that of the Literature of Classical antiquity, apart from considerations of historical development, and the interpretation of this author or that author, there remains the great fact that by the universal consent of civilized mankind the ancients have in almost every department of the *Literæ Humaniores* approached to perfection. Out of their very names have been coined synonyms for the excellence which severally distinguishes them. What they have wrought has become archetypal. They stand indeed in precisely the same relation to Polite Letters as the Old Masters stand to Painting and Sculpture. It is possible, no doubt, for a painter whose eyes have never rested on a Dutch or an Italian masterpiece to produce work of a very high order, and it is certainly possible for a poet who has never read Homer or Horace to write poetry which Homer and Horace would not have been ashamed to own. But what applies to an artist will not apply to a critic. A man who set up as a judge of pictures without being familiar with the chief works of the Great Age, or, if he knew them, knew them only by copies, might pass for a connoisseur with the crowd, but would find his opinions little appreciated by the learned. It is the same, or should be the same, with the critic, with the student of

Literature. The Homeric Poems, the *Æneid* and *Georgics*, the Attic tragedies, the Lyrics of Pindar and Horace, what is best in Catullus, Martial and the Anthology, the best of the Platonic Dialogues, the best Orations of Demosthenes and Cicero—these are his Michael Angelos, his Da Vincis, his Raphaels. These are, or should be, while the foundations of his critical education are being laid, his standards and his touchstones. We need be no bigoted admirers of the ancients to admit this. We may be quite prepared to concede that the great tragedies of Shakespeare are, considered merely as works of art, at least equal to the *Œdipus Rex*, and that, if they be estimated by the powers of mind displayed in them, they would, in sheer weight of intellectual bullion, make the dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, massed together, kick the beam. No discerning judge would hesitate to say that the comedies of Molière are incomparably superior to the comedies of Terence. It would be possible to prove categorically that Burke's Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts and on conciliation with America are greater oratorical feats than the Verrines or the Antonian Philippics. We may rank Burns above Catullus, we may rank Dryden above Juvenal. We may think Walpole and Gray wrote better letters than the younger Pliny, and we may pronounce the

History of the Decline and Fall to be a more impressive monument of human genius and of human skill than the *History of the Peloponnesian War*. But this does not prove, as is often absurdly asserted, that familiarity with the works of modern writers would, in the education of a student of Literature, be an equivalent for familiarity with the works of the ancients. It would not, and it would not from any point of view.

By none indeed has this been more emphatically pointed out than by those who have themselves been the most distinguished ornaments of our vernacular literature. "Let persons of limited conception," says Burke in a passage over which educational legislators would do well to ponder, "think what they will of classical learning, it has ever been and ever must be the first principle of a taste, not only in the arts, but in life and morals. If we have any priority over our neighbours, it is in no small measure owing to the early care we take with respect to a classical education which cannot be supplied by the cultivation of any other branch of learning."[1]

"It is with the deepest regret," writes Scott, referring to his neglect of classical studies, "that I recollect in my manhood the opportunities of learning which I neglected in my youth,

[1] *Letter to Parr.* Parr's Works, Johnstone's edit. Vol. I., p. 200.

and through every part of my literary career I have been pinched and hampered by my ignorance: it is a loss never to be repaired."[1]

So, too, Wordsworth, writing to his nephew at Cambridge, in a passage which goes to the very root of the matter:—

"Do not trouble yourself with modern authors at present. Confine your attention to ancient classical authors: make yourself master of them, and when you have done that you will come down to us, and then you will be able to judge us according to our deserts."[2]

See also the admirable remarks of Sir James Mackintosh (*Memoirs*, Vol. I., pp. 116–118).

But have there ever been, among competent judges in any nation of Europe, two opinions on this subject, namely that the systematic study of Modern Literature must, as well on critical and æsthetic as on historical grounds, rest on a Classical basis? Let Alfieri and Leopardi answer for Italy; Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, and Schlegel for Germany; Villemain and Ste-Beuve for France; Coleridge, Macaulay, and Matthew Arnold for England.

But enough of a proposition so self-evident to every one but University legislators, that its very enunciation is grotesque in its superfluousness.

[1] *Autobiography.*

[2] Christopher Wordsworth's *Memoirs of Wordsworth*. Vol. I. p. 48.

Why should not our Universities institute a School which should stand in the same relation to pure Literature, to Poetry, Oratory, and Criticism, as at Oxford the present School of History stands to History, and as the present school of so-called *Literæ Humaniores* stands to Philosophy? In both these Schools, in the former as it is about to be constituted, in the latter as it always has been constituted, the historical and philosophical classics of the old world are most properly associated with those of the new. No rigid line is drawn between philosophers and historians who write in Greek or Latin, and philosophers and historians who write in English. Both are studied not for the light which they may happen to throw collaterally on the structure and theory of language, but for the light they throw on the subjects which are severally treated by them. Herodotus and Thucydides are accordingly included in the same curriculum as Clarendon and Gibbon. The *Republic* and the *Ethics* are read side by side with the *Essay on the Human Understanding* and the *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*. Thus not only are the masterpieces of ancient and modern philosophy brought home to the student, but their relations to each other are rendered intelligible. "The work," says Professor Freeman, "which I have come to do is to point out that the work of

Kleisthenes, of Licinius, of Simon of Montfort, are parts of one living whole, a whole of which every stage needs to be grasped by the same faculties, to be studied by the same methods." And Professor Freeman is, both in his public writings and, if I am rightly informed, in his lectures also, never weary of dilating on the "continuity of History," and on the erroneous views which must necessarily result from studying it piece-meal. But the Professor, judging from the vehemence of his resistance to the establishment of a School of Literature, and particularly to all attempts to associate the study of modern with ancient Classics, does not seem to be aware that the continuity of Literature is a fact of even more importance, and that the persistency with which that fact has been ignored has not only led to errors infinitely more serious than any which can be imputed to historical teachers, but has rendered our whole system of dealing with Literature, whether historically in tracing its development, or critically in analysing its phenomena, as inadequate as it is unsound. If the work of Kleisthenes, of Licinius, of Simon of Montfort are parts of one living whole, why, it may be asked, is not the same view to be taken of the work of Sophocles and Shakespeare, of Cicero and Burke? Are they not also "parts of one living whole"? Is not poetry—poetry, oratory—

oratory, criticism—criticism, in whatever language they may be expressed? And is not the study of Literature the study of its development generally, and of its masterpieces particularly? What links the work of Kleisthenes with the work of Licinius, and the work of Licinius with the work of Simon of Montfort, is precisely what links the *Iliad* with the *Æneid*, the *Æneid* with the *Divine Comedy*, and the *Divine Comedy* with *Paradise Lost*. But the Professor's logic as a legislator is merely the logic in practice of the community to which he belongs, —to thoughtful persons a very puzzling logic indeed, a logic which appears to stand in the same relation to intelligence as ritual in some communities often stands to morals and conduct. Why the works of a philosopher or a historian who writes in a Classical language should be studied as illustrating Philosophy and History, while the works of a poet or an orator who writes in a Classical language should be regarded in relation chiefly to Philology, why University men should be expected to know in what way modern Metaphysics have been affected by Plato and modern Ethics by Aristotle, and should not be expected to know in what way modern Poetry has been affected by Homer and Horace, and modern Oratory by Demosthenes and Cicero, is merely another illustration of the same bewildering inconsistency.

CHAPTER VI

SYNOPSIS OF OPINIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF UNIVERSITY RECOGNITION AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

It may be within the memory of some of my readers that about four years ago the attention of people interested in Education was directed to the question of Universities providing instruction in English Literature. Then as now a party in the University of Oxford were endeavouring to follow the example of Cambridge, by setting up a School of Philology in opposition to a plea for a School of Literature. With the hope of inducing the University to consider how seriously the interests of advanced education would suffer by such a step, an appeal was made to almost every eminent authority on Education and on Literature in England for an

expression of opinion on the subject.[1] The questions submitted to each were these :—

1. Was it desirable that the Universities should provide systematic instruction in English Literature ?

2. Was it desirable that a distinction should be made between Philology and Literature, and that the instruction provided should be instruction in Literature as distinguished from instruction in Philology ?

3. Was it desirable that the study of English Literature should be indissolubly associated with the study of ancient Classical Literature ?

From almost every one appealed to a reply, and a full reply, was received; from the Archbishop of Canterbury, from the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, from the Lord Chief Justice, from the late Lord Chancellor, from men who fill or have filled the first places among English School-Masters or University Teachers, from the Bishop of London, from Archdeacon Farrar, from the Dean of Winchester, from the present Head-Masters of Rugby, of the City of London School, of Wellington, of Clifton; from almost all the scholars among statesmen, Mr. Gladstone, the Earl of Lytton, the Earl of Carnarvon, Mr. John Morley; from the most distinguished man of science now living, Professor Huxley; from men of letters like

[1] Most of these opinions were published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* during November and December 1886, some of them appeared in the *Quarterly Review* for January 1887. They have been reprinted in full in a *Pall Mall "Extra"* (Jan. 1887).

Mr. Froude, Mr. Matthew Arnold, Sir Theodore Martin, Mr. Addington Symonds, Mr. Walter Pater, Mr. Frederick Myers; from men holding the highest posts in the direction of Education, Mr. Courthope, and Dr. Craik; from men distinguished in other spheres of intellectual activity, from Professor Dowden, Professor John Hales; from Heads of Houses in the University itself, from the Master of Balliol, the Master of University, the Rector of Lincoln, the President of Trinity, the Provost of Oriel, the President of Magdalen, the Warden of All Souls, and from the Principal of Mansfield College. On the necessity of our Universities providing adequately for the study of Literature, and particularly English Literature, as distinguished from Philology, there was not a dissentient voice.

No one expressed himself more strongly on this point than Professor Huxley:—

"The relation of our universities to the study of English literature is a matter of great public importance, and I have more than once taken occasion to express my conviction, firstly, that the works of our great English writers are pre-eminently worthy of being systematically studied in our schools and universities, as literature; and secondly, that the establishment of professorial chairs of philology under the name of literature may be a profit to science, but is really a fraud practised upon letters. That a young Englishman may be turned out of our universities "epopt and perfect," so far as their system takes him, and yet ignorant of the noble literature which has grown up in these islands during the last

three centuries, is a fact in the history of the nineteenth century which the twentieth will find hard to believe."

Equally in favour of the admission of English Literature into the curriculum of University studies, and equally opposed to its being confounded with Philology, was the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was strongly

"in favour of the universities providing for the adequate study of English literature, especially as the universities undertake to provide instruction in English literature through their extension lectures and through the teachers in schools, and professors in the various colleges and institutes which the modern side of education is every year multiplying both in Great Britain and in the Colonies."

To the testimony of the Archbishop of Canterbury may be added the testimony of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster:—

"I fully agree with the *Quarterly Review*, that in the curriculum of university study literature, as distinguished from philology, ought to be cultivated. Philology is as necessary to literature as analysis to chemistry; but it is subordinate and cannot supply its place. By literature I understand the intellectual product of cultivated nations . . . and in this full sense it is evident that English literature ought to form a part of university studies. I believe that the office of a university is not so much to fill men's minds with information, however valuable it may be, as to educate the man himself."

His Eminence then goes on to point how greatly an intelligent comparative study of the Greek, Roman,

and English Literatures would contribute to this result. Next comes Sir Theodore Martin.

"It is," he writes, "incomprehensible how the effective study of English literature should not have been provided at the universities long since as an essential part of a gentleman's education, irrespective of the case of the many who may, either by writing or teaching, have to deal directly with English literature in future life. It is in the years spent at the university that the time for such a study is most available, and the powers for acquiring a competent knowledge of what it should teach are most active. . . . . It is in these early years that a true taste for literature is best formed, and that an acquaintance may with least difficulty be gained with all that is best in our native literature."

No one will suspect Professor Jowett of sympathizing with any unnecessary innovation in University economy, but he is

"strongly of opinion that a place should be found for English literature in the university curriculum."

To the same effect are the opinions of Canon Farrar, and of the Head-Masters of Rugby and Clifton. Canon Farrar, after observing that the teaching of English Literature has long tended to become too exclusively philological, agrees with the *Quarterly Review* in thinking that, if such a study of Literature as that Review advocated were encouraged at the Universities, it would be of inestimable service "in

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spreading a just, genial, and catholic appreciation for every form of literary excellence." The Head-Master of Rugby has, he says, no doubt that the admission of English Literature into the curriculum of University study would not only be of real advantage to the University, but could be introduced "without in any way involving dislocation of present arrangements." The Head-Master of Clifton College bases the desirableness of the Universities encouraging a liberal study of our Literature on another ground. He observes that in Schools "the teaching of literature will in general be either the getting up of little annotated text-books, with their scraps of philology and ready-made criticism and antiquarianism, for purposes of examination, very often at the expense of neglecting the text," and that it should therefore be the province of the Universities to provide that intelligent instruction in this branch of study—the importance of which he fully recognizes—which the Schools do not provide.

To these opinions it is pleasing to add that of one of the most accomplished of modern men of letters. Mr. Addington Symonds remarks that what is wanted

"is some plan whereby the study of English should be combined with the study of classical literature, and become a necessary element in the education of every undergraduate who aspires to honours or reads for a degree. English, in my

opinion, ought to enter as a subject into the examination of each student on whom the mark of the university is stamped."

Not less definite and emphatic are the opinions which have been expressed as to the necessity of associating, in any School or Course of Literature which may be provided or prescribed, the study of our own Literature with the study of ancient Classical Literature. As this is the point on which I have laid most stress, and to which I attach so much importance that I have no hesitation in saying that the introduction of English Literature into the curriculum of University studies would, under any other conditions, be as undesirable as under these conditions it would be desirable, I would draw particular attention to the following corroborations of that opinion.[1] The Heads of Houses in the University may perhaps be suspected of being unduly prejudiced in favour of Classical studies. I shall therefore content myself

[1] No one has expressed this more emphatically than Dr. Henry Craik: "I have no hesitation whatever in agreeing with the opinion, which is confirmed in my own case by very considerable opportunities of testing in different ways the educational value of the subject—that if this study is to be carried on with that thoroughness which is alone worthy of the university, it must be connected inseparably with that classical training which can alone open up the foundations upon which all that is most valuable in our literature rests."

with quoting the testimony of the Master of Balliol and the Rector of Lincoln :—

"I am," says Professor Jowett, "as strongly of opinion that in an Honour School of English Literature or Modern Literature the subject should not be separated from classical literature, as I am of opinion that English literature should have a place in our curriculum."

"Should a School of English Literature," writes the Rector of Lincoln, "be established in the University of Oxford, I should take it for granted that the subject would be taught in connection with the Greek and Latin classics. It seems to me the only scholarly method of such a study. A knowledge of the classics may not indeed be necessary to the ordinary reader for the appreciation and enjoyment of English literature, but it is quite indispensable to the student of English literary history. Without such a knowledge much of the matter and form of our literature can have no intelligible meaning. Its development must seem to be merely accidental without constant reference to the models on which it has been shaped. And the study of English literature in this place, in connection with that of the classics, would have the further effect of giving more life and reality to the method of studying Greek and Latin authors."

In this last remark we have a view of the question which deserves, I venture to think, particular attention. I am not, like Lord Coleridge,[1] disposed to believe that the Classics are a "lost cause," but there can be no doubt that they would greatly gain in

[1] See *Pall Mall Gazette*, for Dec. 1886.

interest and educational value if their relations to Modern Literature were made more generally intelligible. "Much," says Mr. Pater, "might be done for the expansion and enlivening of classical study itself by a larger infusion into it of those literary interests which modern literature in particular has developed, and a closer connection of it, if this be practicable, with great modern works." And the Master of Balliol in a private letter makes a similar remark: "classical study is getting in some respects worn out, and the plan proposed would breathe new life into it." "It would act favourably on classical study," observes the Head Master of Wellington, "saving it from pedantry, and also lessening the prevailing disposition to subordinate too completely its literary to its philosophical and historical interest."

Mr. Gladstone, Lord Carnarvon, and many others protest against English Literature being recognized by the Universities as a subject of study, unless it be associated with the Greek and Roman Classics, on the ground that, if divorced from the study of Ancient Literature, its introduction will tend to disturb and weaken the present Classical system. "Your subject," Mr. Gladstone writes, "is one worthy of any effort and I sympathize with what I understand to be your views, utterly deploring whatever tends to displace a classical education for those in any way capable of

receiving it, and strongly disapproving all efforts in that direction." Mr. Gladstone then goes on to say that he agrees with those who think that, "unless English literature be studied in connection with the Greek and Roman classics, its introduction into the Oxford examination system would be injurious to the interests of education." The testimony of Lord Carnarvon, though many would probably not agree with his remark, that the study of English Literature "comes far better at a later period of life when the foundations of knowledge have been laid and taste is more formed,"[1] is equally emphatic.

"If," he says, "it is certain that without prejudice to the classics English literature can be introduced into the university curriculum, no reasonable objection can be offered, but if its introduction tends to disturb or weaken the existing classical system, then I would unhesitatingly refuse the specious but perilous gift."

Nor has the necessity of associating the study of English Literature with that of Classical Literature on other and more important grounds, been urged less strongly.

"The study of English literature should," writes the Archbishop of Canterbury, "be closely associated with the study of the Greek and Roman literatures, not simply on account of their intimate historical connec-

[1] See Lord Lytton's remarks on pp. 112–113.

tion, but because sound and adequate literary culture must be based on the study of its sources." He would "deplore any attempt to establish a school either for the independent study of our national literature, or for a study of it in connection only with modern literature." He "agrees with those who think that its proper place as an instrument of education and as a branch of study is with the literatures of Greece and Rome."

Equally definite and equally emphatic was the opinion of the Bishop of London :—

"I have no doubt," he writes, "that the universities ought to take up the study of English literature, and I have equally no doubt that English Literature ought to be studied as one of the fruits of the classical literature which preceded it, and from which it derives most of its inspiration and very nearly all its ideals. If it were possible for one human intelligence to embrace all literature, ancient and modern, within one course of study, this, and this alone, would be the right method. But since this is impossible, and a division must be made, I am sure that to divide English literature from ancient is to destroy the study as a study of literature. A division which separates the stream is inevitable ; a division which crosses the stream is an absurdity."

The opinion of Matthew Arnold was to the same effect. He should, he said, "be glad to see at the universities not a new school established for modern literature or modern languages, but the great works

of English literature taken in conjunction with those of Greek and Latin literature in the final examination for honours in *Litcræ Humaniores.*" "And I would," he says in another place, "add no literature except that of our own country to the classical literature taken up for the degree, whether with or without honours, in arts." And what Mr. Matthew Arnold said was repeated and supplemented by Professor Bonamy Price, who was "very strongly in favour of the great works of English literature being carefully and thoroughly studied in combination with those of the great Greek and Latin writers." "For," he added, "the rigorous attention which the classical writings demand and exact from those that study them will bear most valuable fruit when applied to the brilliant and powerful utterances of modern thought."

To pass, however, from the testimony of those who are or who have been officially connected with education, to the testimony of those whose eminent services to Modern Literature give, as the testimonies of Burke, Scott and Wordsworth gave, particular weight and significance to their remarks on the relation of Classical to Modern Literature. "No one," wrote Mr. Froude, "can be a finished scholar and critic who is ignorant of classical literature, and both the national taste, and the tone of the national intellect, will suffer a serious decline if it ceases to be studied among us."

But it is with particular satisfaction that I am able to quote the testimony of Mr. John Morley, for there are indeed few men whose judgment on this subject is less likely to be biased by Idols of the Den. His sympathies would appear to be almost entirely with modern life. The greater portion of his writings has been devoted to modern subjects. His connection with contemporary politics would seem to estrange him even more completely from the world of Pericles and Alexander, and to link him even more closely with the world of Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain.

"I am strongly of opinion," writes Mr. Morley, "that the systematic study of English literature in its widest sense would be a valuable addition to the course of university education. By literature I assume you to mean not merely words and form, philology and style, but the contents of important writings in their relation to human thought and feeling, and the leading facts of human life and society. I am not so foolish as to deny that education ought to include both a knowledge of the structure of our mother-tongue, and a manly care for its purity, its wholesome directness, its pithy vocabulary, in face of the affectations, barbarisms, and hideous importations that nowadays threaten to degrade and deface it. But the serious study of English books, as an instrument of systematic education, is not merely etymology, nor grammar, nor rhetoric. Literature viewed as an instrument of systematic education, and not as a source of pleasant refreshment and delight, would mean a connected survey of idea, sentiment, imagination, taste, invention, and all the other material of literature, as affecting, and

affected by, the great experiences of the human mind and social changes brought by time.

"There is no reason why English literature, in this construction of it, should be simply vague or elegant trifling, nor why it should not be as severe, as fortifying, and as permanently nourishing, as other studies that are capable of more precise definition. Villemain, Taine, and Ste. Beuve have, among others, shown by example how literature can be made a powerful and invigorating element in teaching, and the noble literature of our country contains material and traditions of no inferior force and value for these purposes of the highest education.

"2. As the object of a School of Literature should be not merely the supply of technical information, mostly *de minimis*, but the building up of the mind in habits of knowledge and thinking, it would be a great misfortune to leave out that classical basis upon which our literature mainly rests. It seems to me to be as impossible effectively to study English literature, except in close association with the classics, as it would be to grasp the significance and the bearings of mediæval or modern institutions without reference to the political creations of Greece and Rome. I should be very sorry to see the study of Greek and Latin writers displaced or cut off from the study of our own. They are incomparable masters of form, and they abound in civil and moral wisdom which is as fresh and as useful to-day as it was in the days of Thucydides or Aristotle. It is not any less important to realise the unity of literature, than that unity of history on which Mr. Freeman has said so many just and important things; and it would be an absurd and unscientific division of the subject to divide knowledge of the modern superstructure from study of the ancient foundations."[1]

[1] Letter to the present writer, printed in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1887.

Such views as these are not likely to find much favour with the "Teutonic, Romanic, Celtic, and Slavonic" party, or with those who pronounce an attempt to unite the study of Ancient and Modern Literature, an attempt "to legalize superficiality," though they may, perhaps, be not without effect on wiser men.

But Mr. Morley is not the only counsellor from whom University legislators may, in dealing with this question, learn the wisdom of the old admonition, *sursum corda*. I am indebted to the kindness of Lord Lytton for allowing me to publish the following letter, originally printed in the *Quarterly Review*:—

"It certainly appears to me that, unless we are to regard the curriculum of our universities as a course of instruction entirely confined to the χρήσιμα, and in no wise concerned with the ἐλευθέρια, there are special reasons why the study of English literature should in these days form an essential part of it. I say in *these days*, because the exclusion of this subject from the original curriculum of our universities was perfectly natural. For a long period of time they could not have better promoted the sound development of the national literature than by providing for the accurate study of the language and literature of Greece and Rome. But that much has been accomplished, and with the best results. The English literature has now produced masterpieces of its own in almost every department. It has become one of the greatest and noblest literatures in the world; and what is now needed in the interest of it is, I think, an authoritative and efficient aid—not in the collection of its materials, or the

formation of its methods, but in the preservation of its noble characteristics and the maintenance of its established standards. That such aid is increasingly needed, who can doubt? If the universities cannot give it, whence is it to come? All that can be properly called literature seems to be now menaced with extinction by the disgorgements of the cheap popular press—with its superficial second-hand criticism, its flimsy summaries of the results of original scholarship or research, its slovenly vulgar editions of the English classics, and its irrepressible floods of sloppy, foolish, illiterate fiction. I am quite unable to agree in the opinion of Lord Carnarvon, that 'the study of English literature comes better at a rather later period of life, when the foundations of knowledge have been laid, and taste is more formed.' My own observation has led me to the directly opposite conclusion, that literary taste is a faculty quite distinct from, and to some extent independent of, the mere knowledge of books. In many men of copious reading who, without being exactly English scholars, were thoroughly familiar with all the masterpieces of English literature, I have been surprised to find this faculty conspicuously defective, and occasionally I have been no less surprised by the strength of it in young persons, whose range of reading was comparatively small, but who, with minds unencumbered and unvitiated by trash, had seriously studied the works of a few great writers under conditions conducive to a subtle appreciation of them. I hope I do not overrate the intellectual or the moral value of what I would call 'the literary sense.' I know that noble character and vigorous intellect are to be found without it, and that it is not indispensable to the accumulation of knowledge. But it is a faculty which can only be acquired in early youth, and whilst of all faculties it is one of the most dependent on education, it is assuredly not the least important of the faculties, which any course of liberal education should endeavour to develop. In literature the

foundations of taste must be laid with the foundations of knowledge, for literary knowledge without literary taste can have no literary value. In fact, taste is, in relation to literature, an habitual mental attitude contracted from the disciplined exercise of certain faculties, and corresponding to what in relation to science would be called 'the scientific mind.' I presume that no teacher and no well-wisher of science would say to the student of it, 'Lay in the foundations of knowledge as soon as you please, but put off to a later period of life the mental discipline necessary to enable you to understand and use your knowledge scientifically.' The taste formed in later life must in most cases be a taste formed at haphazard.

"On the second question raised in your letter, viz., whether English literature should be studied in connection with the comparatively modern literatures of other countries, or the ancient literature of Greece and Rome, I can scarcely recognize room for serious discussion. Whether the literatures of France, Italy, Spain, and Germany, should or should not be included amongst the subjects of exposition and research at Oxford and Cambridge, is quite another question; and on both sides of it much might be said. But one thing is certain. To a great extent all these literatures, like our own, have grown out of the study of the Greek and Roman classics. In the classics they have themselves produced, the influence of that study is apparent. With perhaps a very doubtful, and at the most a very partial exception in the case of German literature, the early history of all these literatures is substantially a history of the effects of Greek and Latin scholarship upon the first literary expressions of the intellectual life of the countries which have produced them; and in any case throughout the course of their development they have been largely indebted to the methods of thought and forms of expression extracted by mediæval scholarship from Greek and Latin authors. Of all alike the fountain-heads are Greek and Latin. And

however copiously a lecturer upon English literature might employ the comparative method, in order to examine its character and trace its course in connection with the contemporaneous course and character of other modern literatures, I can scarcely see how he could avoid reversion at almost every step to the common well-spring of them all. Quite independently of this consideration, however, not only that the new Chair of English Literature would fail from the outset to command the serious consideration which is essential to its success, but also that the general character of the universities would be lowered if the study of literature (for that is what is really involved in the case) were divorced by them from the study of the classics, on which every civilized literature is founded, and with which their own reputation and national position are so vitally connected.

"On the subsidiary question, as to the method of instruction, I am equally in accord with what I understand to be your object. In so far as the classics are to be studied in direct relation to English literature, for Heaven's sake let them be studied *as literature*, and not as pretexts for philological pedantry! Some time ago the works of Shakespeare were, I believe, included among those upon which instruction 'in pupil room' is occasionally given at some of our public schools. But I have been told that on all such occasions the plays of Shakespeare are subjected to the method of instruction habitually applied to the plays of Æschylus or Euripides, that is to say, they are treated not as literature, but as exercises in grammar and philology. Such a method, if it really has been adopted, must necessarily have the effect of concealing from, instead of revealing to, the student the literary features of the text. I have always rather wished and hoped to see the study of grammar removed from the first to a much later period of the established curriculum, and treated in connection with the kindred studies of logic

and philology as part of the science of language. And amongst other advantages incidental to such a change in the order of studies, I reckon the chance it would give to 'the average schoolboy' of beginning his study of Latin and Greek with a livelier interest in the ideas, and a quicker and easier perception of the literary characteristics of the Latin and Greek authors given him to read.

"After all, of how many excellent Greek and Latin scholars are the literary style, and the literary taste, detectable? Is it because they have neglected the study of their native literature, or because the aims and methods of all their studies have been verbal rather than literary?

"As to foreign literature, I cannot but think that we are at present suffering from a too unrestricted importation of their moderned forms and moderned ideas. I wish it were possible to establish some sort of literary Custom House, and levy import duties on foreign idioms.

"But when writers, whose rank in literature is high enough to carry with it some responsibility for the trusteeship of their native language, do not scruple to adulterate its vocabulary, and distort its structure by the copious employment of all sorts of Gallicisms, Germanisms, and Americanisms, it is surely high time for the universities to exert with energy all the influence and authority they can command for the preservation of what is national and classical in the genius of English literature.

"To intervene, however, with any chance of success, they must, as the *Quarterly* has so wisely insisted, provide for the study of English literature *as literature*, and not confine themselves to verbal or historical instruction about it."

It is when we are confronted with such views as these, and with such views as find expression in Mr. Morley's letter, and when at the same time we

remember the curriculum drawn up by Lord Macaulay for the Indian Civil Service Examination, that we come fully to understand how wide is the gulf which separates academic theories of the scope and purposes of Education from the theories held by men who possess the qualities desiderated in educational legislators by Matthew Arnold—great experience of the world, breadth of culture, breadth of view.[1]

The necessity, then, of the Universities making adequate provision for the systematic study of Literature, and especially for the systematic study of our own Literature, is so generally acknowledged that the advocates of the movement are no longer required to prove it desirable, but to show how, without injury to the existing framework of University studies, it can be rendered practicable. This is the problem now awaiting solution at Oxford. And it is obviously a very difficult and a very complicated one. Indeed, it may be admitted at once that, whatever scheme may finally be adopted, the choice will have to lie, not with the scheme which is open to no objections, but with the scheme which is open to fewest objec-

[1] The curriculum of study for the open competition for the Indian Civil Service, as recently re-organized on the old lines of Macaulay's scheme, affords, on the side of Literature, with one singular and unfortunate exception, the elimination of Italian, precisely the scheme of study for which this volume is a plea, and which finds such obstinate opposition at Oxford and Cambridge.

tions. And that which will be open to fewest objections will be that which is least calculated to disturb existing arrangements, and which, with the minimum of innovations, will yet attain the ends at which a School of Literature should aim. The scheme which most readily suggests itself, and which Matthew Arnold, Canon Percival, and Mr. Courthope appear to propose, is the modification of the present Classical curriculum by the introduction of English Literature as a special subject, either in Moderations, which is the First Public Examination, or in the Final Schools, or in both. But there would probably be serious objections to this. If introduced into Moderations, it would, unless it were reduced to proportions wholly incommensurate with its importance and wholly incompatible with an adequate study of it, seriously interfere with the prosecution of the studies peculiar to that examination. Nothing is more important than the preservation of a high standard of exact scholarship, and the aim of Moderations is, and should continue to be, the preservation of that standard. If, again, it were introduced into the Final *Literæ Humaniores* School, it would, as that School is now constituted, stand as a subject isolated not only from what is cognate to it in Classical Literature, but from what is cognate to it in Education; it would stand with Greek and Roman History, with Logic, with Com-

parative Philology, with Moral and Political Philosophy. Had the old School of *Literæ Humaniores*, which included, with History and Philosophy, Poetry, Oratory, and Criticism, been left standing, the curriculum might no doubt have been modified, and modified without difficulty, in the way which Matthew Arnold suggests. But that basis no longer exists. The old School has gone—gone, it may be added, to the regret of all who do not share the modern rage for experimentalizing, and who are inclined to suspect that our fathers were at least as wise as ourselves.

It may be questioned, therefore, whether the difficulty could be met by the modification of the curriculum of any existing School. Such a course would, in all likelihood, lead to nothing but confusion and perplexity. As things now are, each School has a distinctive character and a definite aim. The aim of Moderations is, on the one hand, to secure and guarantee exact Classical scholarship, and on the other hand to teach students to apply that scholarship to its proper use—the elucidation of the Poetry, Criticism, and Oratory of Greece and Rome. The aim of the Final School of *Literæ Humaniores* is to supplement the literary course thus admirably initiated in Moderations with the austerer discipline of Philosophy and Science. Now the introduction of English Literature

into the curriculum of either of these Schools would obviously be most injudicious. It would seriously interfere with the Classical element in Moderations. It would be entirely out of harmony with the subjects studied in the Final School.

The true solution of the problem would, I venture to think, be the foundation of a new Final School, of a School which should not supersede, which should in no way interfere with, the present Final School of *Literæ Humaniores*, but which should supplement it, and which should stand in the same relation to it as the old Law and History School used to stand to the old *Literæ Humaniores* School. In the former times a student would takes his Honours in *Literæ Humaniores*, and would then proceed to prepare himself for his second School, the School of Law and History, and it was within the reach of any man of intelligence and energy to take Honours in both courses. If he had not the energy or inclination to compete for Honours in both Schools, it was open to him to take his choice between them, and to graduate in Honours in Law and Modern History, instead of in Honours in *Literæ Humaniores*. This second School was abolished on the ground, no doubt, that, as the subjects represented in it had no direct connection with the subjects prescribed in the curriculum of the preceding School, it was impossible for students to

attain with a year's reading, even though that reading had been aided by reading pursued collaterally with their *Literæ Humaniores* studies, a sufficiently high standard. But these objections would not apply to a School of Literature, for an important part of the work required for it would already have been accomplished in Moderations, and another portion of that work, the perusal, namely, of the lighter part of our own Literature, would, so far from interfering with the preparation for *Literæ Humaniores*, form, as indeed it now does, a pleasant relaxation for leisure hours.[1] Thus the student could take his Honours in *Literæ Humaniores*, and would still have a year before him for the severe and systematic study which the School we are advocating would necessarily exact. On the other hand, men who were less energetic, or whose tastes and aims were purely literary, would be

[1] In addition to this, a youth would bring up from school a certain amount of literary knowledge. Indeed we see no reason why he should not when he matriculates have made considerable progress in his English studies. The Universities, through their Scholarships, are virtually the dictators of the Public Schools, and we have little doubt that, if a Paper on English Literature formed a recognised portion of the Examination for Classical Scholarships, progress would be secured. The character of the questions set would determine the character of the instruction given, and would thus go far to remedy the defective teaching of which the Head-Master of Clifton College complains.

enabled to graduate in Honours in *Belles Lettres* instead of graduating in Honours in Philosophy, Philology, and Ancient History, just as in former times it was open to men to graduate in Law and History, instead of graduating in *Literæ Humaniores.* The University would however do well to require of every candidate for the Honour School of Literature that he should have obtained at least a Third Class in the School of *Literæ Humaniores.* For a purely literary curriculum would undoubtedly be too thin. Poetry, Rhetoric, and Criticism can never, from an educational point of view, be equivalents for Logic and Moral and Political Philosophy, and the elimination of those solid elements from the curriculum of culture would constitute a serious deficiency even in the education of a literary critic. No student should be entitled to a degree in Arts who had not an adequate acquaintance with the *Ethics* and the *Republic.*

If, again, we regard the constitution of the proposed School in its relation to the constitution of existing Schools, we shall see how little it would disturb existing arrangements, and how easily and naturally it would supply an obvious defect in the Classical Course. The aim of Moderations is, as we have seen, to enable students to read the chief Greek and Roman Classics with facility and accuracy, to give them a minute acquaintance with particular works, or with

portions of particular works, and to initiate them in the rudiments of literary criticism and of literary history, so far, at least, as they relate to the Greek and Roman Classics. But all this is supposed to be accomplished in about two years, for Moderations is merely an intermediate School, and with Moderations the course of pure literature, thus admirably inaugurated, abruptly terminates. The Classical student is then hurried on without option to the Final School of *Literæ Humaniores*, a School in the preparation for which he passes at once from poetry to history, from oratory to ethics, and from literary criticism to logic and philology. If he chooses to abandon Classics, it is of course open to him to select any Final School he pleases. He can, if he is so minded, betake himself to Mathematics, or to Natural Science, or to Jurisprudence, or to Modern History, or to Theology. But what he cannot do is to complete his literary education, is to consolidate and extend those studies of which he had in Moderations been able to do little more than lay the foundations. No one would wish to underrate the educational value either of natural science or of modern history, either of mathematics or of theology. Nor assuredly would anyone be disposed to find fault with a curriculum which is obviously designed to blend a certain amount of literary culture with the severer discipline of

philosophy and science. But no students are, I repeat, entitled to greater consideration on the part of the Universities, than those whose future calling will be to disseminate literary culture, to deal directly with literary criticism and with literary history. Now it is surely most unreasonable that a class of students, who are to occupy so important a place in letters and culture, should have no opportunity of completing their education, should have no option but to break off the studies peculiarly suited to them just when those studies are beginning to be of real service, and might and ought to be extended. A Final School of Literature on the lines proposed here is therefore as desirable in the interests of Classical culture as it is in the interests of the study of English. Its formal constitution might surely be modelled on the constitution of the present *Literæ Humaniores* School. In the curriculum of that School are included, as we have seen, Greek and Roman History, Logic, Moral and Political Philosophy, the History of Philosophy, and a special subject. Now if for Greek and Roman History were substituted the general history of the Greek and Roman Literatures; for Moral and Political Philosophy, the general history of the English French and Italian Literatures; for Logic and the History of Philosophy, Historical and Æsthetic Criticism; and for the special subject, which ranges from

Textual Criticism to Comparative Philology, a critical examination of prescribed works in English, Italian, and French,[1] we should have a framework corresponding, or nearly corresponding, in its proportions to what is now a School, partly of History, partly of Philosophy, and partly of Philology.

[1] I am not including German, because I think, for the reason alleged on p. 63, it might be an optional subject.

CHAPTER VII

CONSTITUTION OF A SCHOOL OF LITERATURE

LET us now consider particularly and in detail how such a School might be constituted as would answer all the requirements of a full and satisfactory system of instruction in Literature. In the first place it may be assumed that this School would be designed only for those students who wished to obtain a degree in Honours, who wished to leave the University with their qualifications as graduates in Literature as authentically guaranteed as Honours in the History School guarantee competent knowledge of History. Of these students there would probably, in addition to others, be two large classes, those, namely, whose future object it would be to follow Literature as a profession, or at all events to become in various ways contributors to it;[1] and those, a far

[1] As a rule this class generally have preferred, and in all probability will continue to prefer, to take their education into their own hands.

more numerous class, who would be destined to become its apostles and exponents in other capacities, who would fill the Chairs of Literature which the modern side of education is every year multiplying, multiplying in the provinces, multiplying in the Colonies, who would be enlisted in the same service as teachers in our Public Schools, as University Extension lecturers, as lecturers at Girton, Newnham, and similar seminaries, as lecturers in the innumerable Institutes scattered up and down the country. It may be assumed then, secondly, that if this School should be a School of "Literature"—and there is no reason why it should not represent all the Literatures of Europe—its central and chief subject should be English Literature, its principal object the maintenance of an efficient system of discipline and instruction for those who seek Honours in that subject. But we have already seen that English Literature cannot stand alone. It must be associated necessarily with ancient Classical Literature, it must be associated if practicable with the Literatures of Italy and France, it is desirable that it should be associated with the Literature of Germany. But in these matters, as in others, a distinction may be drawn between what constitutes the foundation and what constitutes the superstruction in education,—between what a man must obtain in his noviciate

from his teachers, and what he may be trusted to do subsequently for himself. No person interested in Literature is likely to allow himself to remain in ignorance of Italian, French, and German—he will pick them up easily, and in the way he pleases, and it is not necessary for the purposes of the particular curriculum we are considering that those Literatures should be studied minutely and systematically. But what nine men out of ten will not do is to sit down to *systematic* reading, and still less to systematic reading in what it is far more pleasant to dawdle with and acquire fragmentarily—English Literature, and to systematic reading in Greek and Latin. Secure then, I would say, severe and methodical study in English and Classics, and leave Italian, German, and French, to take care of themselves, insisting, however, at the same time, on such a knowledge of them as shall be necessary for the proper understanding, historically and critically, of English Literature.

Let me bring these preliminary remarks to a conclusion by recurring again to what was said before. It is for no innovation in the constitution of academic curricula that I am pleading. It is merely that a deficiency which is wholly anomalous, and in consequence of which the interests of education in one of its most important branches

are notoriously suffering, may be supplied. A Degree in Honours is the sole passport to posts of credit and emolument in the Universities, outside the Universities it is the only authentic guarantee of a young man's proficiency in subjects recognized in education and of his qualifications for the work of teaching. In all other branches of liberal knowledge, in Classics, in Philosophy, in Divinity, in Mathematics, in Natural Science, in Jurisprudence, in History, and even "*in Literis Indicis*," it is open to him to obtain this passport and this guarantee. It is not open to him to obtain them in Literature, in *Belles Lettres* and Rhetoric, though the Universities are undertaking, and that on a very large scale, to supply the country and the colonies with teachers in those subjects. Finally, before we proceed to consider the framework of the curriculum under discussion, it may be added—

Firstly: that the proposed School need not, and should not, in the smallest degree interfere with any of the Schools now established in the University, or with a School of Philology, should such an institution be deemed advisable.

Secondly: that it should stand in precisely the same relation to the present Final Schools in all the Faculties as the old Law and History School

used to stand, or as the examination for the Degree of Bachelor of Civil Law now stands.

Thirdly: that it should be an Honour School, and that entrance to its examinations should be optional, no candidate being allowed to offer himself for examination till he had passed all such examinations as it is at present necessary for him to pass before obtaining his Bachelor's Degree in Arts.

Now, assuming, as we may safely assume, that those who would present themselves for examination would be men who had already attained Honours in Classical Moderations and in the Final School of *Literæ Humaniores*, and who had passed also a year or nine months in special preparation for this particular examination, let us consider on what lines the curriculum of a School like this should run.

From every candidate a Thesis or Essay should be required, and to this so much importance should, for obvious reasons, be attached that a whole day might be allowed for its composition. It might be well, also, to consider whether a Paper of questions on English History, not in relation to minutiæ but in relation to its general course and to social and political movements which have especially affected Literature, should not be proposed. But to proceed.

The subjects in the course would naturally group themselves thus. First would come Poetry, then would come Rhetoric, and Rhetoric would naturally subdivide itself into Oratory proper, into History, or rather historical composition regarded as Rhetoric, and into such miscellaneous literature as is not comprised under the headings specified. Lastly would come Criticism, which might in its turn be subdivided into Historical Criticism, in other words, the History of Literature, and into Æsthetic, Philosophical, and Technical Criticism. In the department of Poetry the Classical portion should consist of passages for translation, selected from the leading poets of each era of Greek and Latin Literature, from Homer to Theocritus, from Plautus to Prudentius, with elucidatory comments. The English portion should consist of questions framed with the object of ascertaining that the chief poems of each era into which our Literature may be divided had been thoughtfully and intelligently perused, and that prescribed works, the *Prologue* and four of the *Canterbury Tales*, for example, the first, second, and fifth books of the *Faerie Queene*, half a dozen of Shakespeare's best dramas, six books of *Paradise Lost*, the *Paradise Regained*, the *Absalom and Achitophel*, the *Religio Laici*, the *Hind and Panther*, the *Essay on Criticism*, the *Rape of the Lock*, the *Essay on Man*, and the like,

had been *critically* studied. In the department of Rhetoric the works offered for examination should, like the works offered for examination in Philosophy in the sister School, be specified from time to time by the Board of Studies. In the historical portion of the department of Criticism, Papers should be set on the *general history* of the three Literatures with a view to testing knowledge of their evolution and idiosyncrasies. In addition to these Papers a *special* Paper on the direct and indirect influence of the Greek and Roman Literatures in moulding and modifying our own, and in influencing particularly the work of particular writers, ought undoubtedly to form an important feature of the examination. Æsthetic and Philosophic and Technical Criticism should be represented by such works as the *Poetics*, the third book of the *Rhetoric*, portions of the *De Antiquis Rhetoribus*, the *De Structurâ Orationis*, the *Ion*, and the *De Sublimitate* in Greek; in Latin by the *Brutus*, the *De Oratore*, or a portion of the *De Oratore*, by the *Dialogus De Oratoribus*, and selections from Quintilian, including the whole of the tenth book; in English by such works as Sidney's *Apology for Poetry*, Dryden's *Essays on Dramatic Poesy*, on *Epic Poetry*, and on *Satire*, by Addison's papers on Milton, by Johnson's *Lives*, by some of the *Dissertations* of Hurd and Twining, and by selections from

such critics as Lamb, Coleridge, and Matthew Arnold. And to these and similar works—I am not, of course, proposing that all these works should be prescribed—ought undoubtedly to be added the treatise which stands at the head of æsthetic criticism, Lessing's *Laocoon*.[1]

And now let us see what would be the gain to education, and to our methods of education generally, could a scheme of this kind be carried out. New life would be breathed into Classical study, a study which, in spite of all the efforts of scholars, like Professor Jowett and Professors Jebb and Campbell, to give it vitality, is yearly declining and losing vogue. The study of our own Literature, freed from its present degrading vassalage to Philology, would be placed on its proper footing. The foundation of what, in the opinion of such judges as Lessing, Villemain,

[1] Should a candidate not be acquainted with German, this work could of course be studied perfectly well in one of the many excellent English translations. It is a proof of the indifference of our Universities to Critical Literature, as distinguished from Philological, that neither Lessing's masterpiece nor the *De Sublimitate* has a place in the curriculum of any of their Schools. The neglect into which the treatise of Longinus has fallen is inexplicable. No nobler, no more suggestive and inspiring work has come down to us from antiquity. Mr. Havell, who has recently translated it, has done good service in furnishing us with a scholarly and spirited version which deserves to become popular.

Sainte-Beuve, and Matthew Arnold, constitutes the very best education in criticism, would be laid. By extending the period of preparation from the period of school life to the age of about four-and-twenty, it would encourage and enable students to peruse at least a third of what is most excellent and most important in the pure Literature of Greece, Rome, and England. It would enable them to study analytically the *De Coronâ*, the *Philippics*, the *Olynthiacs*, the great Oration of Æschines, the great Oration of Isocrates, an Oration or two of Lysias, half-a-dozen of the best Orations of Cicero, two or more of the best Orations of Burke. It would afford them ample leisure for such an acquaintance with the Histories of Herodotus and Thucydides, of Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus, of Clarendon, Hume, and Gibbon, as would be sufficient for the purposes of rhetorical culture.[1] It

[1] If it be asked how the work of historians like these can be approached only from the rhetorical side, the answer is obvious. Classical historical composition (now almost extinct) is as purely a work of art and as worthy of being studied as a work of art, as a great poem, or a great oration is. If the matter concerns the student and the political philosopher, the expression and the style concern the literary critic. The study of their great histories from this point of view was held by the ancients to be one of the most important departments of rhetoric and criticism. See particularly Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.* x. 1. It is, for example, one thing to seek in Gibbon's great work what the mere

would enable them to peruse and compare the masterpieces of the Attic and Roman Drama with the masterpieces of our own Drama; the two noblest Epics of the Old World with the yet nobler Epic of the New; the *Odyssey* with the *Canterbury Tales;* the *Metamorphoses*[1] with the *Faerie Queene;* the lyrics of Pindar and Horace with the lyrics of those among our own poets who acknowledged Pindar and Horace as their masters, or who have, in finding other sources of inspiration, rivalled, and more than rivalled, ancient artists. It would enable them to make themselves as familiar with the *Essay on Criticism* as with the *Ars Poetica;* with the *Satires* of Dryden, Pope, and Johnson, as with the *Satires* of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal; with such poems as *Alastor* and the *Atys* on the one hand, and the *Rape of the Lock* and the *Coma Berenices* on the other;[2] with the gems of the Anthology and the

student of history seeks in it; it is quite another thing to consider it in relation to its architectonics and style. It is, again, one thing to master the matter of Ségur's narrative of the tragedy of 1812, and of Thucydides' narrative of the tragedy of B.C. 413; it is quite another thing to understand in what consists the immeasurable superiority of Thucydides to Ségur as a dramatic artist.

[1] No Classical work has exercised more influence on modern poetry, especially in England and Italy, than the *Metamorphoses.*

[2] A comparative study of Shelley's *Alastor* and the *Atys*

gems of Martial, as with the gems of our own not less brilliant Florilegia. It would enable them to pursue consecutively the course of Philosophic and Didactic Poetry, from the *Works and Days* to the *De Rerum Naturâ*, from the *De Rerum Naturâ* to the *Georgics*, from the *Georgics* to the *Essay on Man*, and from the *Essay on Man* to the *Excursion:* of Pastoral and Descriptive Poetry, from the *Sicilian Idylls* to the *Bucolics* of Virgil, from the *Bucolics* to the *Mosclla*, and from the *Mosclla* to such pieces as have in successive epochs of our own Literature, from the appearance of the *Shepherd's Calendar* to the appearance of the *English Idylls*, been typical of the same class. It would enable them to understand the relations and to estimate the debt of our Narrative and Idyllic Poetry to the *Argonautica* of Apollonius, to the *Peleus and Thetis*, to the *Heroical Epistles*, to the *Pharsalia*, to the *Thebaid*, to that brilliant *Idyllic Epic*, and that not less brilliant *Allegoric Epic*, which, with other poems,[1] once too much overrated,

or William Morris's *Life and Death of Jason* and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius would do more to make a student realize the fundamental and essential differences between Ancient and Modern Poetry than volumes of commentary; just as a comparative study of the *Coma Berenices* and Pope's Mock-Heroic would show him how much they have sometimes, and in particular branches, in common.

[1] Notably such poems as the *Moscllα*, and the Idylls

now too generally neglected, constitute Ausonius, Claudian, and Prudentius the link between ancient and modern poetry.

And now it remains to consider what share those modern Literatures, which have chiefly affected our own, should have in the curriculum. Of the importance of Italian there can be no question. It is a proof of the ignorance which exists on matters of this kind, that when, not long ago, a gentleman of great authority in University councils was asked to sign a protest against the elimination of Italian from the Indian Civil Service Examination on the ground, among other things, of its close connection with English Literature, he replied that he should certainly be prepared to protest against any measure which should affect deleteriously the English part of the curriculum, but he failed to see in what way a student of English Literature would be benefited by a knowledge of Italian. He might have been easily answered. A mere glance at the nature and extent of the influence which the Literature of Italy has exercised on the development and peculiarities of our own would suffice to show that a knowledge of the Literature of Greece is not more indispensable to the critical and historical student of the Classics of

entitled *Cupido cruci affixus* and *Rosæ*, so singularly modern in imagery, colour, and sentiment.

ancient Rome, than a knowledge of that of Italy is to the critical and historical student of the Literature of England. When English poetry awoke, if its earliest inspiration came from France, its most potent inspiration came from Italy. But for the *Decamerone* we should never have had the *Canterbury Tales*. The sweetest and most pathetic of those tales came from Boccaccio. The only poems of Chaucer which rise to the dignity of the epic are simply adaptations from Boccaccio. The frequency of his allusions, parodies, and reminiscences proves his indebtedness to Dante. From Boccaccio was derived most of the material of Lydgate's finest poem, and it is the spirit of Boccaccio's great predecessor whom he invokes to instruct him how to tell the most impressive of his tragedies. When Surrey and Wyatt initiated the greatest revolution which our Literature has ever undergone, it is to Italy that we have to trace most of the elements in that revolution. What Alcæus and Sappho were to Horace, and Philetas and Callimachus to Propertius, that were the poets of Italy to the leaders of the Company of Courtly Makers. They found in Petrarch the model for their Sonnets. They transferred from Dante and Alamanni the *terza rima*, from Boccaccio and the Pulci the *ottava rima*, from Trissino and Rucellai—but this was the glory of Surrey—heroic blank-verse—that metre

which was to become the omnipotent instrument of Shakespeare and Milton. Wyatt borrowed epigrams from Serafino D'Aquila, and derived from Dante and Alamanni suggestion and inspiration for his version of the Penitential Psalms. On the *Inferno* was nourished the stern genius of Sackville, and the *Inferno* divides with the sixth book of the *Æneid* the honour of having inspired the most powerful of English poetic narratives preceding the *Faerie Queene*. As we advance in the Elizabethan age, the influence of Italy is ubiquitous. The canzone, the ballata, the sestina, the madrigale, variously modified, become, with other measures, directly traceable to Italian originals, the forms predominating in the lyric. Without reference, and at every turn, to the Literature of Italy, the Literature of Elizabethan England is without its key. Ariosto and Tasso are to the *Faerie Queene* precisely what the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Argonautica* are to the *Æneid*, while Petrarch, Sannazaro, Bembo, and many others stand in exactly the same relation to that vast mass of poetry of which Spenser's *Amoretti* and Drummond's *Song on Damon* are the types. With regard to the Drama it would be no exaggeration to say that almost every form it assumed is to be traced to the Italian Drama of the Renaissance, which was indeed the medium through which the Drama of Classical Antiquity affected us. From the

Farce sprang what culminated in the Romantic Comedies of Shakespeare. From the *Favole Boscherecce* sprang what culminated in *Comus*. A stout octavo volume would not suffice to illustrate in detail the indebtedness of Milton to Dante, Petrarch, and Tasso alone. Scarcely less important was the influence exercised on our prose literature by Italian writers. Without the *Arcadia* of Sannazaro we should not have had the *Arcadia* of Sidney, or the Pastoral Romance. To the novels of Boccaccio, Cinthio, and others we owe our earliest novels; to the *Discourses* of Giraldi and Guazzo, our earliest treatise on moral philosophy. Castiglione shares with Plutarch and Guevara the honour of having suggested and inspired Lyly's ethical romance. To the Italian historians, to the writings of Machiavelli and Guicciardini particularly, we must turn for the secret of the ethical and political temper of Bacon, for the sources of much of the philosophy embodied in the *Essays*, in the *Life of Henry the Seventh*, and in so many other portions of his writings. It is notorious that Davila was the favourite historian of Hampden, and his influence is distinctly to be traced in the historical and political writings of Hobbes, Clarendon, and Temple. If between the close of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the present, the influence of Italy ceased to affect us

very perceptibly, still at various times, and in various degrees it may still be traced, notably in Collins, notably in Gray and Hayley. But with Byron and Shelley, with Keats and Leigh Hunt and Landor, it became once more in the ascendant, and during the last thirty years it has come to be almost as influential as it was in fiction and poetry three centuries ago. Indissolubly then as the Literatures of ancient Greece and Rome is the Literature of Italy linked with our own, and to say that no curriculum, the central object of which should be the systematic study of English poetry and prose—of their evolution and characteristics, could be satisfactory which should not include provision for a competent knowledge of the Italian Classics, and of their relation to the English, is to say what may seem paradox at the Universities, but what must sound platitude everywhere else.

The importance of the Literature of France, both particularly with reference to the influence exercised by it, directly and indirectly, during every era of our literary history, and generally with reference to its forming an indispensable element in a critical education, is too obvious to need any explanation or commentary.

If it be objected, as many would no doubt object, that German has equal claims to recognition, and that its omission from such a course as is here

proposed would be monstrous, I would reply: by all means admit it, not however as a compulsory but as an optional subject. And for these reasons. We are here considering not a curriculum of Modern Literature generally, but a curriculum the chief object of which is provision for the critical and historical study of English Literature. For that study a considerable acquaintance with the Greek, Latin, Italian, and French Literatures is, as we have seen, simply indispensable. But an acquaintance with German Literature, however desirable it may be, and desirable for many reasons it undoubtedly is, is not indispensable; not indispensable, that is to say, as an essential and fundamental element in the particular course of study we are considering. From Chaucer to Shakespeare, from Shakespeare to Dryden, and from Dryden to the period of the literary activity of Coleridge, our Literature pursued a course in no way affected, save accidentally and occasionally, and that with reference to mere trifles, by the influence of Germany.[1] It was not till the second decade of the present century that it began to affect us power-

[1] During the greater part of the last century, says Carlyle, the Germans in our intellectual survey of the world were quietly omitted. And what was true of the last century was as true of the centuries preceding it. For the trifles to which I have alluded see Professor Herford's interesting little book.

fully and extensively. The question is a practical one. If either Greek or Latin, either Italian or French, is to be sacrificed for German, then German ought to go, but if neither Greek nor Latin, neither Italian nor French, is to be sacrificed, then German ought to be required.

And now it is time to conclude. I have pleaded, it may be said, for a counsel of perfection. It may be so. But, as ridicule is alleged to be the test of truth, so counsels of perfection are after all the touchstones of practical legislation. If it be admitted that I have made out a case for the recognition and organization of English Literature, considered as Literature, at the Universities, that I have demonstrated that the place of *Paradise Lost* and the *Speech on Conciliation with America* as subjects of academic study is not beside Cædmon's *Paraphrase* and the *Blickling Homilies*, but beside the *Iliad* and *Æneid* and the Orations of Demosthenes and the Orations of Cicero; that the Literatures of Greece, Rome, Italy, and France are indissolubly linked with our own, and ought therefore to be studied side by side with our own; that, as the education of a critic of Literature should extend to all that is in youth intellectually and æsthetically susceptible of culture and discipline, it ought to be based on the study of what is best and most excellent, of

what is in the true sense of the term *classical* in Poetry, in Oratory, in Criticism, in Philosophy; that to substitute for subjects like these and for discipline of this kind the barbarous and semi-barbarous experiments of the infancy of civilization and the illiberal and narrowing discipline of philological instruction, is a great and deplorable misconception of the ends at which education should aim—if this be admitted, it matters little what modifications may be made in the scheme I have here proposed. The omission of all authors of secondary importance, even the elimination of modern Literature completely, would, for the reasons I have stated when distinguishing between foundation and superstructure in education, be of little consequence compared with the disassociation of Ancient or Classical Literature from the study of our own. But on this I would insist, that in no School of Literature worthy of our Universities ought there to be any question about the imperative requirement from every candidate for Honours of a careful study of the whole, or of such portions as it may be deemed advisable to prescribe, of the following writers or writings in the Literatures of Greece, Rome, and England :—

Poetry

The Homeric Poems.
Selections from the Poetæ Lyrici Græci.
Pindar.
The Attic Dramatists.
Theocritus.
Selections from the Greek Anthology.
Plautus.
Terence.
Lucretius.
Catullus.
Virgil.
Horace.
Ovid.
Juvenal.
Selections from Martial.
Selections from Statius, Valerius Flaccus, Claudian Prudentius, and Ausonius.
Seneca—two of his Tragedies.
Chaucer.
Spenser.
Shakespeare.
Select Dramatists preceding and succeeding Shakespeare.
Milton.
Dryden.
Pope.
Wordsworth.
Selections from the chief minor Poets of each century in our Literature.

Rhetoric.

Oratory:—
Demosthenes.
Lysias.
Isocrates.
Cicero.
Burke.
Pitt.
Fox.
Macaulay.
Select Sermons of our Classical Divines.
Donne.
Taylor.
South.
Tillotson.

Historical Composition:—
Herodotus.
Thucydides.
Sallust.
Livy.
Tacitus.
Hume.
Gibbon.
Macaulay.

Miscellaneous Prose Literature.
(See next page.)

Criticism.

Æsthetic:—
The *Ion*.
Lessing's *Laocoon*.
Portions of Schiller's Æsthetical Essays.
(In English, if German be not required.)

Technical or Mixed:—
Aristotle's *Poetics*.
Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (Books II. and III.).
Longinus.
Selections from the *De Oratore*.
Tenth Book of Quintilian.

Historical and Mixed:—
Selected Monographs, including such works as Nisard's *Poetæ Latini de la Décadence*, Nelson Coleridge's *Greek Classic Poets*, Sellar's *Roman Poets of the Republic*, Jebb's *Attic Orators*; and in the English portion the six best of Johnson's *Lives*, and selected *Essays* from Ste.-Beuve and Matthew Arnold.

For the sake of convenience I have placed under the head of Miscellaneous in the department of Rhetoric all such prose literature as is not comprehended under the categories of Oratory, Historical Composition, and Criticism. Here in Greek would come the *Republic*, the *Phædo*, the *Phædrus*, the *Symposium*, works as intimately related to *Belles Lettres* as they are to Philosophy; in Latin the Treatises and the Letters of Cicero, and the Letters of the younger Pliny. In English prose a particular knowledge would of course be required of the leading writers in each century. Thus the Pseudo-Maundeville, Wycliffe, and Chaucer (as a prose writer) would represent the fourteenth century; Pecock, Fortescue, and Malory, the fifteenth; Sir Thomas More, Latimer, and Ascham, the early sixteenth; Sidney, Lyly, and Hooker, the later sixteenth; Bacon, Hobbes, Milton, and Sir Thomas Browne, the first half of the seventeenth; Cowley, Bunyan, Temple, and Dryden, the second half. The earlier decades of the eighteenth century would be represented by Shaftesbury, Defoe, Addison, Swift, and Bolingbroke; the later by Fielding, Sterne, Johnson, Goldsmith, Hume, and Burke (as a political writer). In the first half of the present century special attention would presumably be paid to Scott, Coleridge, Lamb, De Quincey, and Landor. The minor prose writers of each age would of course, as in the case of the minor poets, be represented through judiciously selected extracts.

And lastly in this scheme would come

But the point of importance lies neither in this scheme nor in that scheme, it lies in the prevention of a precedent which cannot fail to be of disastrous import. That the higher culture of our country, whether expressing itself practically in teaching or reflectively in art and letters, must suffer serious detriment if, in the very centres and nurseries of education, the study of Literature is severed deliberately and on principle from the study of the ancient masterpieces, is surely certain. Classical Literature can never, it is true, become extinct, but it can lose its vogue, it can become the almost exclusive possession of mere scholars, it can cease to be influential. Every step in the progress of its alienation from life is a step in the progress of its decline. Philology cannot save it, technical scholarship cannot save it. It must be linked with life to live, with the incarnation of that of which it too is the incarnation, to prevail. Associate it as poetry with poetry, as oratory with oratory, as criticism with criticism, and it will be vital and mighty. The University of Oxford has now to decide whether this is to be done, or whether, so far from this being done, the Classics are to be ostracized from that dominion over which for so many centuries they have reigned supreme, and the Dii Minores of later and lesser dynasties set up in their place, whether the *Beowulf*

is to supersede the *Iliad*, and the *Blickling Homilies* Attic Oratory; whether in a School of "Literature," in a School in which poetry is represented, we are to look in vain for the names of Homer and Sophocles, of Virgil and Horace; whether the study of Criticism is to be divorced from the study of the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric*, and the study of Oratory from the study of Demosthenes and Cicero. This is the question—this and nothing less than this—now awaiting decision at the chief seat of English national culture. In pleading for the recognition and organization of the study of English Literature on the lines indicated in this book, I have indeed adduced the one unanswerable argument in justification of the Classics maintaining in modern times their old leading and dominant position in secondary education.

In conclusion I would again direct attention to the immense importance of what is involved in the decision of this question. It has long been a reproach to us as a nation, that, mainly in consequence of the narrow and obstinate esoterism of the Universities, and partly owing the unavoidably predominant claims of scientific and technical instruction, we have never risen even to a conception of Education in the sense in which it was anciently understood. Making due allowance for the distinction which

must be drawn between the world for which Pericles legislated, and the world in which our busy millions are striving, it still remains that there exists no essential distinction between what men needed then and what men need now. They needed then and they need now to be taught how to live. They need æsthetic culture, that life may not only be brightened, but refined and elevated by sympathetic communion with what is truly beautiful and excellent in Art and Literature; they need moral culture, and that on broader lines than when it ran wholly in theological and conventional grooves; they need political culture, instruction, that is to say, in what pertains to their relation to the State, to their duties as citizens; and they need also to be impressed sentimentally by having the presentation in legend and history of heroic and patriotic example brought vividly and attractively before them. To the Greeks instruction of this kind was conveyed easily and delightfully through the study properly directed of the best literature, and particularly of the best poetry; and of instruction of this kind the best literature and the best poetry may still become the means. But no such system of education, no such conception of the scope and functions of education, can ever obtain as long as education takes its ply from the curricula of the Universities, as the curricula of the Uni-

versities are at present constituted. The problem before the Universities has during the last fifteen years been defined clearly enough. The genius of the Schools must be brought into harmony with the genius of national life. In accepting the responsibility incurred by the organization and control of a system of advanced popular education, now coextensive with the kingdom, it has become incumbent on them to meet the requirements of that system, and of the requirements of that system the first and most important is the discipline of its missionaries. To relegate Mœso-Gothic, Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon, and the like to their proper sphere, the sphere of Philology, and to substitute for their study the study of the leading and master Classics of the world; to raise Greek, now gradually fading out of our curricula, and degenerating into the *cachet* and shibboleth of cliques of pedants, to its proper place in Education; to encourage and prescribe such a study of Spenser and Shakespeare, of Milton and Wordsworth, of Bacon and Burke, as would attain the ends it is calculated to attain—this ought now to be the aim of the English Universities. The times are ripe, and thanks to men like Professor Jowett, Professor Campbell, Professor Jebb, and Mr Andrew Lang, the means are at hand for making the philosophy and poetry of ancient Greece influential in modern life. That the

Homeric Poems, the Lyrics of Pindar, the Attic Tragedies, and the Platonic Dialogues, have not proved as full of interest and as pregnant with instruction for our citizens as they were when they moulded the lives of the citizens of Athens, is to be attributed to the absence of such Institutions at Oxford and Cambridge as the Institution for which this volume pleads.

APPENDIX

As one of the chief objections advanced against the academic recognition of the study of Literature is that it could not be made sufficiently solid and tangible, I subjoin a few specimens of the sort of questions which might be proposed to candidates in such a School as we have been discussing.

Thesis.

"The spirit of ancient art and poetry was plastic, that of modern is picturesque; the poetry of the ancients was the poetry of enjoyment, ours is that of desire."—A. W. Schlegel. How far are these remarks true?

English History.

1. Describe the world of Chaucer on its social, political, and ecclesiastical sides. Account historically for Chaucer's attitude towards religion and politics.

2. What were the causes which conspired to form the Elizabethan age, and in what way and to what extent are peculiarities in the work of Spenser and Shakespeare directly attributable to them, or to any of them?

3. Show how the *Faerie Queene* is a mirror of contemporary history.

4. Describe with special reference to Milton's works the great political and religious questions at issue between 1625 and 1660. Define carefully Milton's attitude towards them.

5. What were the chief questions at issue both at home and abroad between 1702 and 1739? Illustrate by references to the writings of Defoe, Swift, Addison, Steele, and Bolingbroke.

6. Divide Burke's public life into the two great periods into which it falls, and give a brief sketch of the chief questions under debate in foreign and domestic politics. Account for the apparent inconsistencies in Burke's political opinions.

7. Describe the character of those historical epochs which appear to be particularly propitious to poetical activity.

8. Account historically for the political doctrines embodied in (*a*) Hobbes' *Leviathan;* (*b*) Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates;* (*c*) Godwin's *Political Justice;* and illustrate, from the poetry contemporary with these works, how poetry was affected by the same currents of thought.

9. What important political questions were involved in the controversies which produced re-

spectively the following works ?—(*a*) Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*; (*b*) Dryden's *Hind and Panther*; (*c*) Arbuthnot's *History of John Bull*; (*d*) Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution.*

10. Account historically for the political doctrines of Wordsworth.

11. Show how the political movements of the last sixty years have affected poetry.

History of English Literature.

1. Divide English Literature into the chief eras into which it falls; enumerate the leading poets and prose writers of each era, with their principal works, briefly characterizing each writer.

2. Trace to their origin the following metres—blank verse, ottava rima, terza rima, the rhyme royal, the Spenserian stanza, the canzone, the sestine, enumerating the chief poems written in each, and pointing out with illustrative references any modifications which these metres may have undergone in the hands of eminent English poets.

3. Compare the influence of the Renaissance on English Literature between about 1560 and 1625, and the influence of the Revolution movement on that Literature between about 1789 and 1840.

4. Define the terms "Romantic" and "Classical," pointing out and accounting for the different significations which have at various times been attached to each.

5. Sketch the history of the Drama in England during the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries respectively.

6. What were the chief contributions made to English Literature during the fifteenth century? Account for the sterility of poetry.

(And four other questions of a similar kind.)

Comparative Study of English and Ancient Classical Literature.

1. "The development and peculiarities of two-thirds of what is most valuable in English Poetry would, from an historical point of view, be as unintelligible without reference to Classical Literature, as the best Poetry of the Romans would be without reference to the Poetry of the Greeks." Discuss that statement.

2. Point out the influence which Pindar has had on English Poetry. How far are our so-called Pindarique Odes, and how far are Gray's two Odes, "Pindaric"?

3. In what way, and to what extent, has "Platonism" affected respectively Spenser, Milton, Wordsworth, Shelley?

4. Define and illustrate the direct influence exercised on English Prose by Cicero, Livy, Tacitus, Seneca, and the younger Pliny respectively; what English writers might be regarded as most nearly the counterparts of each of those Classics?

5. Discuss the respective merits and defects of

Chapman's Homer, Pope's Homer, Dryden's Virgil, Browning's *Agamemnon*, regarded as translations.

6. Define and illustrate the direct influence exercised by Æschylus on English Poetry.

7. Discuss the nature and extent of the influence exercised (*a*) by Roman Satire on English Satire; (*b*) by Roman Didactic Poetry on English Didactic poetry.

8. Show how English Oratory and History have in point of structure and style been affected by Classical models.

9. How far is Prior a disciple of Horace, Matthew Arnold of Homer and Sophocles, and Tennyson of Virgil and Theocritus?

10. What are the chief points of resemblance and difference between the Shakespearian Drama and the Attic Drama?

Comparative Study of English and Italian Literature.

1. Estimate generally the nature and extent of the influence exercised directly by Italian Literature on the development of our own between the time of Chaucer and the death of Bacon.

2. "It would be difficult to name any important branch of English Literature, either in poetry or in prose, which has not been more or less affected by the influence of Italian writers." Discuss that statement.

3. In what way is Chaucer directly indebted to Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch respectively? Account for his comparative indifference to Petrarch.

4. Point out how and to what extent the following works have been affected by the Italian Classics: Sackville's *Induction*, Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, Milton's *Comus*, Gray's *Elegy*, Byron's *Don Juan*, Shelley's *Epipsychidion*, Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, Rossetti's *House of Life*.

5. "What the Homeric poems and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius are to the *Æneid*, the epics of Ariosto and Tasso are to the *Faerie Queene*." Discuss that statement.

6. Estimate the extent of the indebtedness of Surrey, Wyatt and the "Company of Courtly Makers" generally to Italian Literature.

7. What metres in English Poetry have been borrowed from the Italian poets, and what modifications have they undergone in the hands of our poets?

8. Discuss the nature and extent of the influence which the Italian historians exercised on our own historians and political philosophers during the seventeenth century.

9. How far did the Italian Drama of the Renaissance contribute to the creation of our own Romantic Drama? Show how nearly every branch of our Elizabethan Drama may be traced directly to Italian models.

10. Indicate briefly the nature and extent of Milton's indebtedness to Italian Poetry.

11. Give instances of the direct influence exercised by (*a*) Dante, (*b*) Ariosto, (*c*) Tasso on English Poetry.

12. Show how Filicaia, Alfieri, Leopardi, and Manzoni have respectively affected modern English Poetry.

Comparative Study of English and French Literature.

1. Give an account of the state of French Literature during the fourteenth century, and point out in what way it affected the development of our own; estimate the nature and extent of Chaucer's indebtedness to the authors of the *Roman de la Rose*, to Machault, Deschamps, Granson, Froissart.

2. Give an account of the Anglo-Norman Literature of the thirteenth century, and show how the *laics* and *fabliaux* developed into the Chaucerian narratives. Comment on the importance of Robert Manning of Bourne in aiding this transition.

3. Point out how Gower marks with singular precision the transition from characteristic French Poetry to English.

4. How far is Chaucer "French" in genius, temper, style, and diction?

5. Describe the nature and extent of the direct influence of French Poetry on English Poetry during the Elizabethan age, noting especially Joachim du

Bellay, Clement Marot, Robert Garnier, and Du Bartas.

6. Discuss the influence of French models on the writers of the "critical school" of English poets. Compare Waller with Malherbe.

7. Show how English Literature between about 1660 and 1744 was proceeding on parallel lines with the Literature of France immediately preceding and during the *Grand Siècle*, and discuss the question as to how far the points of resemblance between them arose from direct imitation on the part of English writers, or from the fact that both were following the same Latin models.

8. Show how French Criticism affected English Criticism between 1660 and 1744. Who were the leading critics in France and England during these years, and what were their respective contributions to Criticism?

9. Describe the direct influence exercised on English Literature by the following writers: Froissart, Rabelais, Montaigne, Racine, Molière, Pascal.

10. How far is Pope the exact English counterpart of Boileau? In what, according to Ste.-Beuve, does his superiority to Boileau consist?

11. How far was the development of the Drama in England affected by that of France?

12. How far have the structure and characteristics of English Prose been affected by French Prose? Describe this with special relation to the prose of Dryden, Chesterfield, and Horace Walpole.

Critical Questions.

1. Quintilian thus distinguishes the chief varieties of style—"unum subtile, quod *ἰσχνὸν* vocant; alterum grande atque robustum, quod *ἁδρὸν* dicunt; tertium alii *medium* ex duobus, alii *floridum* (namque id *ἀνθηρὸν* appellant) addiderunt." Define fully the characteristics of each, and illustrate each by references to Greek, Latin, and English classical prose writers.

2. Matthew Arnold has described Milton as our one great master in the "grand style." What, according to Longinus, are the five characteristics of the grand style? Illustrate them from the style of Milton.

3. "Verbi translatio instituta est inopiæ causâ, frequentata delectationis" (Cic. *De Orat.*). Compare this statement with Aristotlè's remarks on the same subject in the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, and discuss the origin, development, and value of Metaphor.

4. Compare Aristotle's remark "*ἑτέρα λόγου καὶ ποιήσεως λέξις ἐστί*" (*Rhet.* III. 8) with Wordsworth's dictum that there is no essential difference between the language of prose and the language of poetry. Discuss each question, and show how in some respects Aristotle supports what Wordsworth *meant*.

5. Give Aristotle's definition of Tragedy, and show how true Shakespeare is in his great tragedies to Aristotle's canons.

6. Lessing has remarked that "Tragedy cannot take

a step from the theory indicated by Aristotle without going precisely so far from perfection." Discuss and illustrate that statement.

7. Show the necessity for a union of the philosophical and imaginative elements in the higher walks of Poetry. Who, in your opinion, are the most eminent poets in whom this union is most conspicuously absent?

8. What is Longinus's test of the "Sublime"? Discuss its adequacy.

9. Define and account for Plato's attitude towards Poetry and Art.

10. What, according to Aristotle, are the points of resemblance and difference between Poetry and Rhetoric?

11. Quintilian says of History—"est proxima poetis et quoddammodo carmen solutum." Comment with illustrations on this remark.

12. Compare Aristotle and Coleridge as critics of Poetry, and discuss the chief points of difference between ancient and modern Criticism, (*a*) in relation to its methods, (*b*) in relation to its aims and its spirit.

13. "The true test of all the arts is not solely whether the production is a true copy of nature, but whether it answers the end of art" (Sir Joshua Reynolds). Discuss this with reference to Lessing's doctrines.

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